TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN LaGRANGE, GEORGIA
LaGrange
Troup County
Georgia

HAER No. GA-98

PHOTOGRAPHS

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

Historic American Engineering Record
National Park Service
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HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD

TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN LaGRANGE, GEORGIA

HAER No. GA-98

LOCATION: LaGrange, Troup County, Georgia

DATES OF CONSTRUCTION: 1895-1940s

PRESENT USE: Mills - mainly still in production or used for storage
Housing and Community Buildings - some demolished, most still in use

SIGNIFICANCE: The development of the cotton textile industry in LaGrange, Georgia (Troup County), exemplifies the development of the industry throughout the South, particularly the expansion of the southern textile industry from 1890-1920. As the county seat and merchantile center, LaGrange always had a diverse economy, but the textile industry still played a major role in local growth and development. The mill village neighborhoods of LaGrange provide many examples of mill housing, and its development and evolution. Today the LaGrange mills are largely intact, although altered by modern additions, and continue to produce textiles.

HISTORIANS: Julie Turner - overview report
Robert Blythe, editor - mill and village reports (from Vernacular Architecture Forum 1999 Annual Conference Tour Book)
Lisa Pfueller Davidson - editing and directory report

PROJECT INFORMATION: During 1997 and 1998, the historic textile industry of LaGrange, Georgia was studied as part of the Southern Textile Industry Survey conducted by the Historic American Engineering Record Division (HAER), National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior. Dean Herrin, HAER Historian, began the survey and functioned as project leader. The documentation of textile mills and housing in LaGrange was cosponsored by HAER, the Historic Chattahoochee Commission, and the Troup County Historical Society (LaGrange, GA). Historical materials were gathered by Dean Herrin and Lisa Davidson, HAER Historians; Robert Blythe, NPS Historian, Southeast Regional Office; Julie Turner, Franklin, GA; Robert Stewart, Historical Technologies (West Suffield, CT); and Kaye Lanning Minchew, Director, Troup County Archives. Measured drawings were produced by Richard K. Anderson, Jr., Cultural Resource Documentation Services (Sumter, South Carolina), with field assistance by Julie Turner. Jet Lowe, HAER staff photographer, completed large format photographs.

Photographs or measured drawings are filed with HAER numbers for specific textile industry sites in LaGrange.

PHOTOGRAPHS:
HAER No. GA-98 - TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN LaGRANGE, GA
HAER No. GA-99 - DIXIE COTTON MILL
HAER No. GA-99-A - DIXIE COTTON MILL, WAREHOUSES
HAER No. GA-100 - 600 LINCOLN ST. (Commercial)
HAER No. GA-101 - 613 ARTHUR ST. (House)
HAER No. GA-102 - 707 CHATTAHOOCHEE ST. (House)
HAER No. GA-103 - 904 EAST DEPOT ST. (House)
HAER No. GA-104 - 510 LINCOLN ST. (House)
HAER No. GA-105 - 1312 WASHINGTON ST. (House)
HAER No. GA-106 - 1000 HOUSTON ST. (House)
HAER No. GA-107 - 800 ELM ST. (House)
HAER No. GA-108 - 9 SIRRINE ST. (House)
HAER No. GA-109 - 2 HOOD ST. (House)
HAER No. GA-110 - 817 FOREST ST. (House)
HAER No. GA-115 - 107 DeGROAT ST. (House)

MEASURED DRAWINGS (reduced copies):
HAER No. GA-111 - 1103 TROUP ST. (House)
HAER No. GA-112 - 606 LINCOLN ST. (House)
HAER No. GA-113 - 621 ARTHUR ST. (House)
HAER No. GA-115 - 107 DeGROAT ST. (House)

**Textile Industry Development In
Valley, Alabama and LaGrange, Georgia, 1866 - 1948**

Julie Turner, Historian

The development of the cotton textile industry in Valley, Alabama (Chambers County) and LaGrange, Georgia (Troup County) after 1866, exemplifies the development of the industry throughout the South. This region of East Alabama and West Georgia, which is often referred to as the Chattahoochee Valley, straddles the Chattahoochee River near the fall line. A geologic formation, the fall line was once the edge of the continent and is characterized by a distinct drop of hundreds of feet in a few miles. As a result, the river courses over rapids and shoals. The fall line is also typically the northernmost point river traffic can navigate.

Southern Textile Development Before 1866

The nature of the colonial system prevented industrial development in America until after the Revolution. As a colony, the New World's role was to furnish England with the raw resources necessary for production. Under the colonial system, England also strictly prohibited exportation of industrial technology to its colonies. Samuel Slater, a mechanic who immigrated from England in 1789, became responsible for the initial development of the textile industry in the United States. He provided expertise based on English technology and manufacturing systems. After his first successful mill opened in 1790 in Rhode Island, cotton mills developed throughout New England, but especially in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.[1]

The textile industry developed slowly in the antebellum South as did all industry. During the early nineteenth century, the South's economy remained firmly entrenched in agriculture dominated by the cotton plantation. Until about 1830 the Southern frontier rapidly shifted in a fervor of westward expansion. The Chattahoochee Valley region of Georgia and Alabama remained Creek territory until 1825. As late as 1836, the area remained an unstable frontier fraught with tension between the white settlers and the last Creeks resisting forced removal.[2] Perhaps more than anything else cotton fueled this westward expansion. After the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, cotton became a highly profitable crop and began to spread across the Piedmont creating the southern "cotton belt" and setting the patterns which would characterize

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[1]Lisa Diane Vogel, "Southern Textile Mills and the National Register of Historic Places: A Framework for Evaluation," (Thesis, University of Georgia, 1993), 8-11. Melvin Thomas Copeland, *The Cotton Manufacturing Industry of the United States* (New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1966, 1917), 3-14.

[2]Mark E. Fretwell, *This So Remote Frontier* (Eufaula, AL: Historic Chattahoochee Commission, 1980), 207-245; Benjamin W. Griffith, Jr., *McIntosh and Weatherford, Creek Indian Leaders* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1988), 260-268.

the growth and development of the region.[3]

In general, England dominated the textile industry during the first years of the nineteenth century. The small cotton mills which developed throughout the United States struggled in competition. In the North as well as the South, production centered on the manufacture of coarse cloth for domestic consumption. Between c.1807 and 1825, the construction of cotton mills increased in the U.S. due to political tensions with Great Britain resulting in embargoes, tariffs, and war.[4]

Even with an economy firmly entrenched in agriculture the South was not devoid of early cotton mills. Southerners began establishing cotton mills in the first years of the nineteenth century. In 1808, Dr. John Shecut established the South Carolina Homespun Company in Charleston on the Ashley River. In Georgia, the Wilkes Manufacturing Company was started near Washington in 1810. In the same year, the Antioch Factory was established between Madison and Monticello which would have been the western frontier at the time.[5] Cotton mills spread westward with white settlement. By 1810, the census recorded 22 cotton mills in the Mississippi Territory. As early as 1818, the Charles Cabaniss Factory in Madison County, Alabama produced cotton thread.[6]

Typical of Southern mills before 1830, each of these examples remained in business only a few years. These mills appear to have been much like grist mills and saw mills of the period. Using machinery forged by local blacksmiths, they produced coarse cloth for the everyday needs of the immediate community.[7] Though not exclusively, mills of this period tended to be clustered along the fall line where rivers and streams course over rapids and shoals creating the source of power harnessed by water wheels.

Although the antebellum South remained dedicated to an agrarian way of life, industrial development played a growing though compatible role after 1830. According to historian Randall Miller, "contrary to popular belief, Southerners did not neglect manufacturing. Southern

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[3]Copeland, 4; E. Merton Coulter, *Georgia: A Short History* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1933, 1960), 220-266.

[4]Copeland, 4-14; Vogel, 29-30.

[5]Vogel, 29.

[6] Randall M. Miller, *The Cotton Mill Movement in Antebellum Alabama* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), 9-11.

[7]Broadus Mitchell, *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South* Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series 39, No. 2 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1921), 16-43.

investment in manufacturing compared favorably with that of the Midwest, the other developing agricultural region in the United States.[8] As an area opened to white settlement around 1830, the Alabama-Georgia Chattahoochee Valley exemplifies the frontier nature of the region at the time. But manufacturing remained secondary to agriculture, particularly cotton cultivation. As long as the price of raw cotton remained high, as it did in the 1820s and 30s, Southerners looked for no other investment. However, when cotton prices fell planters invested in textile mills. According to Miller:

> The concern for cotton manufactures grew out of the planters' dissatisfaction with the frequent and annoying fluctuations in the price of raw cotton, crop failures, the dramatic decline of cotton prices in the 1840s, and out of this, the growing irritation and embarrassment over the South's slavish dependence upon a hostile North for basic goods and services. The need to diversify the economy was recognized by the planters, encouraged by them, and finally supported by their patronage and investment.[9]

Of the Southern states, Georgia in particular experienced a dramatic increase in the development of cotton mills during the 1840s. In 1840 the state contained only nineteen mills, but by 1849-1850, 35 operated along the fall line. Fourteen of these operated within the bounds of only four counties: Richmond County (Augusta) with three mills, Clarke County (Athens) with four mills, Upson County with four mills and a fifth projected, and Muscogee County (Columbus) with three existing mills and a fourth projected. These communities continued to be leaders in the Georgia textile industry throughout the historic period. At least four of the Georgia mills operating in 1849-1850 began operation in the decade of the 1830s: Franklin Factory, Upson County (1833), Columbus Factory, Muscogee County (1834), Richmond Factory (c.1835), and Princeton Manufacturing Company, Clarke County (1836).[10]

Alabama also experienced significant and stable cotton mill development after 1830. The Bell Factory is notable among Alabama's early mills. Established in 1832 in Madison County by prosperous Huntsville merchants, the Bell Factory operated successfully for decades and used slave labor extensively.[11] The last decade of the antebellum period witnessed the greatest prosperity for American textile mills in the era. Great Britain continued to dominate the world market with 30 million spindles in production by 1860. At the same time, New England mills totaled 3.8 million spindles and dominated American production. New England possessed

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[8]Miller, ii.

[9]Miller, 2.

[10]*White's Statistics of Georgia*

[11]Miller, 18-19.

seventy-three percent of all U.S. spindles. Production remained concentrated in Massachusetts and Rhode Island with these two states possessing forty-eight percent of all U.S. spindles.[12]

The industry also continued in the South between 1850 and 1860, but production was still relatively small-scale, meeting the local needs of an agrarian society. However, the Southern textile industry in the decade before the Civil War appears to have been far more stable and diverse than previously characterized by historians. Of the Southern states Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Alabama exhibited the strongest mill development before the Civil War, as they would continue to do so into the twentieth century. By 1860 North Carolina contained 39 operating cotton mills to Georgia's 33. Yet Georgia held twice as many spindles, which directly reflects production levels.

Previously the Southern textile industry of this period has been characterized as small scale production of coarse cloth for a strictly local market and primarily providing crude clothing for slaves. A closer examination of the Georgia textile industry in 1849-50 disproves this long-held characterization. Of the 35 mills operating, at least six are documented as producing goods for regional and national distribution. The Milledgeville Manufacturing Company located in the state's capital of that time, produced sheeting, yarn, and mattresses in addition to osnaburg. The company marketed its textile goods in New York, New Orleans, Charleston, and Savannah. Two factories located in Athens on the Oconee River bear mentioning. The Princeton Manufacturing Company, established in 1836 produced shirting, bed-ticking, linsey-woolsey, jeans, and checks noted for superior quality for markets in Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina, New York, and Philadelphia. The Athens Manufacturing Company manufactured similar textiles sold in Augusta, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans, as well as at home. The Roswell Factory also sent goods throughout Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee.

The Coweta Falls Factory in Columbus, Georgia and the Troup Factory near LaGrange, Georgia prove to be of particular interest in establishing the significance of the development of the textile industry within the Chattahoochee Valley. The Coweta Falls Factory, established in 1844, sent goods to New Orleans and Mobile as well as throughout Georgia and Alabama. The Troup Factory, sited on Flat Shoals Creek, produced cotton goods sold principally in adjoining counties, but also sent to Philadelphia, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans. The Troup Factory was noted for the "considerable quality" of its goods.[13] As appears fairly typical, the founders of the Troup Factory converted an old grist mill building into a cotton factory in 1848. The mill continued to operate successfully until 1902 when the business relocated to a new facility in LaGrange as Park Cotton Mills.

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[12]Copeland, 8.

[13]*White's Statistics of GA.*

These antebellum textile mills did not develop in isolation, but rather within earshot of the South's most influential industrial advocates. South Carolina's William Gregg is perhaps the best known antebellum textile advocate. In 1846, Gregg's Graniteville Mill became the largest textile mill in South Carolina and probably in the South. The three story building constructed of coursed granite housed 9,245 spindles when the entire state had contained only 20,000 spindles in 1840. In addition to the size of the mill, Graniteville is credited with the establishment of another precedent for the southern textile industry. At the time of construction, Gregg built a 150 acre mill village containing around 100 Gothic Revival cottages, two churches, an academy, a hotel, and several stores. William Gregg widely advocated building textile mills in the South as well as setting a successful example. He was not alone. In 1858, Enoch Steadman who established the Sumner Manufacturing Company in Gallatin, Tennessee, published *The Southern Manufacturer: Showing the Advantages of Manufacturing the Cotton in the Fields Where It Is Grown.*[14]

Less well known is Daniel Pratt, the owner of Alabama's largest antebellum mill. Like William Gregg, Pratt set a personal example in urging industrialization as a partner to the cotton plantation economy of the 1850s.[15] A native of Temple, New Hampshire, Pratt came south to Georgia in 1819 as a carpenter. For approximately fourteen years Pratt built bridges and houses in the Georgia Piedmont where many early Georgia mills were being built. Attributed to Pratt are "a unique group of houses, mostly in the vicinity of Milledgeville and sometimes designated as Milledgeville-Federal in style."[16] With a partner, Pratt also engaged in making cotton gins which were much in demand as cotton plantations spread across the Piedmont.[17]

In 1833 Daniel Pratt relocated to Autauga County, Alabama. He established his own cotton gin factory along with saw and grist mills on Autauga Creek calling the place Prattville. Pratt became a leading producer of cotton gins for the entire South. According to Randall Miller, "Pratt was already Alabama's foremost industrial figure in 1846 when he embarked on his public campaign for cotton manufactures. "[18] At that time he constructed his own textile mill and village at Prattville. Pratt was also a vocal advocate for building cotton mills in the South. According to Alabama historian Weymouth Jordan, "he spoke out in favor of the economic betterment of

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[14]Vogel, 33, 42. Graniteville Mill was in production until approximately ten years ago. It is currently used for storage. The mill and village are designated as a National Historic Landmark.

[15]Jonathan M. Wiener, *Social Origins of the New South: Alobomo, 1860-1885* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 139-144.

[16]16 John Linley, *The Georgia Cotolog, Historic Americon Buildings Survey: A Guide to the Architecture of the State* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1982), 55.

[17]Weymouth T. Jordan, *Ante-Bellum Aloboma: Town and Country* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1957), 153.

[18]Miller, 38.

Alabama and the South; persistently he stated that he favored manufacturing as the most effective way to bring about self-sufficiency."[19] By 1850, Autauga County contained almost 6,000 spindles, twice as many as any other Alabama county, half of which were run by the Prattville Manufacturing Company.[20]

Although in general the number of mills in the South decreased between 1840 and 1850, new mills were built in the three states which would eventually dominate southern textiles: North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The sharpest increase in mill building occurred in Georgia. The state contained only 19 mills in 1840 and 35 in 1850. The decade of the 1850s was one of general stability in Southern textiles.

Whether the aborted beginnings of a movement or simply a sporadic spurt of mill building, clearly the seeds for large-scale textile development in the South had been planted during the antebellum period. The Civil War redirected the South's industrial efforts and it would be twenty years before the momentum shifted again.

1866 - 1873: Early Beginnings of the West Point Manufacturing Company

The early beginnings of the West Point Manufacturing Company occurred during a period of great transitions. In 1866 prominent Chattahoochee Valley merchants and planters organized two textile mills, the Chattahoochee Manufacturing Company (Langdale) and the Alabama-Georgia Manufacturing Company (Riverdale), a year following the close of the Civil War. During this period of Reconstruction, the South's economy was shifting away from the antebellum cotton plantation system into a far more complex dynamic between planters, merchants, and the new industrialists. The postbellum years also brought a transition in the development of the Southern textile industry from antebellum beginnings to post-1880 "mill fever."

Based largely upon the 1921 work of Broadus Mitchell, *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South*, historians have generally considered 1880 as the beginning of the Southern textile movement. Indeed, a period of booming "mill fever" swept the South after 1880 leading to the eventual domination of the national textile industry during the early twentieth century. However, these boom years remained connected to the industry's antebellum beginnings. In many ways, the immediate postbellum years bridged these two periods of development and the West Point Manufacturing Company represents a significant foreshadowing of the preeminence of the Southern textile industry.

During the Civil War southern textile mills shifted to meet war time needs. Although one

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[19]Jordan, 157.

[20]Jordan, 152.

source claims few mills survived the war, in 1870 the South contained 151 cotton mills which was only 14 fewer than in 1860. For the South this represented an eight percent decline in the number of mills, however the number of spindles, which dictate production, remained steady. Nationwide, the number of textile mills dropped by twelve percent from 1860 to 1870, but the number of spindles increased significantly. Therefore it appears that the southern textile industry adhered to the national trend and suffered no more during the war decade than the industry as a whole. Whereas some mills were surely lost during the war years, new mills were built soon after the war's end.

Rebuilding began immediately after the war in the Chattahoochee Valley and surrounding area. In West Point, the two bridges destroyed by Union troops were quickly rebuilt. Indeed, Georgia's railroads recovered fully within one year of the war's end. The climate of Reconstruction in general influenced the southern attitude toward mill building. Benjamin Harvey Hill (1823-1882), one of the most noted Southern statesmen of the post-bellum period, lived in LaGrange, Georgia. Immediately after the war Hill worked to ensure fair treatment under Reconstruction rule. He personally intervened in a significant confrontation to prevent federal authorities from seizing the stored cotton of an Augusta man. His success put a stop to similar seizures across the state. Such cotton represented the South's limited capital at the time. More than one planter rushed to sell the warehoused cotton which had not made it to market during the war years.

As an orator, Hill influenced the nations view of the South as becoming stronger and more progressive after the war, planting the seeds for the "New South" which would emerge after his death. Emancipation and the dissolution of the plantation system dramatically changed the South's social and economic structure. According to historian E. Merton Coulter, "The disorganization of agriculture and the rising feeling that the state might best enter the new age by breaking with its agrarian past, led Benjamin H. Hill, Henry Grady, and other Georgians, either new or remade, to call for the industrial age."[21]

In this spirit, two West Point men, George Huguley and James W. McLendon used the money they made from selling cotton immediately after the war to establish separate textile mills in the Chattahoochee Valley. In 1866, long before "mill fever" swept the South, the cornerstones of the Chattahoochee Manufacturing Company (Langdale) and the Alabama-Georgia Manufacturing Company (Riverdale) were both laid on the same day by the same people. The governor of Alabama presided over two public ceremonies only a couple of miles apart on August 1, 1866. Each mill took advantage of the Chattahoochee River's power on sites previously occupied by grist mills.

Both mills were organized with limited local capital which dictated relatively small scale

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[21]Coulter, 355.

production for a local market. Each mill initially produced a coarse cloth called osnaburg for use within the region. As was quite typical in southern textile development after the Civil War, limited capital also meant using secondhand machinery disposed of by northern manufacturers as they modernized.[22]

At least two additional Alabama mills were established shortly after the Civil War. The Rock Mills Cotton Factory in Randolph County, neighboring Chambers County to the north, was also started in 1866. In Tuscaloosa County, The Kennedale Cotton Mill was organized in 1868. Each of these mills remained in operation in 1872 when a total of fourteen mills existed in Alabama. The textile industry in Georgia remained stable in the post-war years. In 1860 the state contained 33 mills and the 1870 census recorded 34 operating textile mills.

In general throughout Reconstruction, the anti-north sentiment which developed throughout the 1850s and during the war persisted. In addition, new federally imposed taxes made a difference. Immediately after the war, Congress levied a cotton tax on raw cotton shipped outside of newly established southern tax districts. If cotton stayed within the tax district where it was grown, it would not be taxed. Needless to say this new tax encouraged southerners to process the raw cotton without shipping it to avoid the tax and keep the profits. By 1868 northern manufacturers realized the unexpected effect of the cotton tax and urged Congress to lift it.[23] New state laws throughout the south also encouraged industrial development. For example, the Reconstructionist Alabama Legislature enacted changes in corporate law which protected investors. Prior to 1867, stockholders in Alabama held unlimited liability in a corporation which made investment risky business. The new law limited individual stockholder responsibility.[24] During the post-bellum era, U.S. textile manufacturers typically continued to produce coarse cloths such as sheeting and shirting, drill, tick, denim, stripe, duck, and bagging.[25] Many southern mills continued to manufacture osnaburg, also a coarse cloth.

Between 1870 and 1880, the overall number of textile mills increased very little in the South. However, the number of spindles increased by sixty percent. In 1872, the Alabama-Georgia Mill (Riverdale) operated with 3200 spindles and 96 looms and the Chattahoochee Mill

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[22]Joseph L. Lanier, *The First 75 Years of the West Point Manufacturing Company, 1880-1955* (New York: The Newcomen Society, 1955) provides an excellent overview of the company history. See also, Mildred Gwin Andrew, *The Men and The Mills: A History of the Southern Textile Industry* (Macon: GA: Mercer University Press, 1987) and Mark E. Fretwell, *West Point: The Story of a Georgia Town* (West Point, GA: Chattahoochee Valley Historical Society, 1987).

[23]Vogel, 35-36.

[24]Wiener, 148-152.

[25]Copeland, 21.

(Langdale) had 2200 spindles and 64 looms.[26] However, a national economic depression from 1873 to 1878 created difficult conditions for mill building in the South. Established mills frequently struggled to stay in business. At the two Valley mills, used equipment along with inexperienced labor and management led to many early problems. The economic crisis of 1873 brought these problems to an insurmountable point and both mills shut down operations.[27]

Although both the Alabama-Georgia Manufacturing Company and the Chattahoochee Manufacturing Company suspended operations in the 1873 economic depression, both mills recovered through the leadership and influence of Lafayette Lanier. Though not an original stockholder, after 1873 Lafayette Lanier maintained an active interest in both mills as unrelated businesses. Through marriage to George Huguley's daughter, Lafayette Lanier also became associated with the Georgia-Alabama Manufacturing Company (Riverdale).

After obtaining the controlling shares of the Chattahoochee Manufacturing Company (Langdale) by trading a piece of property during the 1873 shutdown, Lafayette Lanier led the company through four significant changes while continuing to utilize only local capital. Though preceding the "mill fever" boom of the 1880's by several years, the changes prescribed by Lanier in 1873 would become typical of the textile industry of the New South.

Production problems centered mainly around the Chattahoochee Mill's second-hand machinery. After almost eight years of use, the machinery which had been discarded from Northern mills in the first place was in poor condition and constantly causing production delays. Rather than holding a conservative line during the national economic crisis, Lanier boldly invested in new machinery to relieve production problems. In cases where the old machinery could be salvaged, he had it retooled at the family iron works in West Point.

While addressing the problems associated with the mill machinery, Lanier realized the need for greater expertise and knowledge of textile manufacturing. The Chattahoochee Mill's workforce consisted primarily of local, unskilled, white men, women, and children who had abandoned tenant farming within the surrounding area. Through an English mill machinery manufacturer, Lanier employed William Lang, "an experienced cotton mill man from Oldham,

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[26]It is interesting to note that although both mills are believed to have been operating in 1870, no Chambers County mills were recorded by the Alabama census for that year. Two mills were recorded by the census for Troup County, Georgia; however, neither appears to refer to the Valley mills. The 1880 census contains similar confusion. No mills are listed for Chambers County, Alabama. In the census numbers for Georgia, one mill is listed in Harris County, which is likely to refer to one of the Valley mills. And two mills were listed in Troup County, one of which was probably a Valley mill.

[27]Lanier, 10.

England."[28] Other Southern factory owners shared Lafayette Lanier's concern over adequate and skilled labor. With the increased spindles and production of the 1870s, Southern mill owners worried about maintaining an adequate work force for the first time. Initially, the required labor came from the local area, but as mills expanded a labor shortage became feared. As with the Chattahoochee Mill, the need for skilled labor also became a broad issue. Lanier was not the first to look toward the British Empire, the world leader in textile manufacturing, for expertise. In 1870, the superintendent of the Augusta Factory in Augusta, Georgia brought over a boatload of operatives from Scotland. According to Broadus Mitchell, "Foreign-born operatives transplanted to Augusta supplied many of the mills throughout the South, particularly in the Carolinas, with skilled superintendents and overseers."[29]

In another visionary move, Lanier switched the mill's production away from the conventional osnaburg to a canvas-type material called "flat duck." Traditionally, the greatest demand for duck went into the sails of Clipper ships, "some requiring 12,000 to 15,000 yards of duck for one set of sails."[30] As steamships replaced the Clippers, the expanding American frontier provided a tremendous new market for duck. "There canvas or duck was needed for tents, for covered wagons, and for many other purposes. Millions of yards were used for housing railroad workers during the building of the five transcontinental lines between 1865 and 1893."[31]

Hand in hand with the conversion to duck, Lanier engaged a Boston selling agent, N. Boynton & Company, to market the new product beyond the local region. An experienced textile brokerage house, N. Boynton & Company began in 1845 as a ship chandlery, furnishing ships with sails and other supplies. The broker shifted with market demand and the company was well equipped to market the Chattahoochee Mill's products.

These four visionary changes made through the leadership of Lafayette Lanier, represent the significant connecting threads between the South's early textile development and the dramatic "mill fever" years after 1880. By 1880 Lafayette Lanier and his brother Ward Crockett Lanier owned seventy percent of the Chattahoochee Manufacturing Company stock. At that time, the Laniers reorganized the company as the West Point Manufacturing Company.

Mill Fever 1880 - 1920

Reorganization as the West Point Manufacturing Company fit right into the pattern of

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[28] Lanier, 11.

[29] Mitchell, 200-201.

[30] Lanier, 11.

[31] Lanier, 12.

southern textile development which began in 1880. A period of booming "mill fever" swept the South after 1880 and eventually led to the domination of the national textile industry during the early twentieth century. Indeed, the number of textile mills in the South increased during this time from 161 (1880) to 731 (1910). At the beginning of the period, the southern states possessed only twenty-one percent of the nation's textile mills. By 1910, the South claimed a full sixty percent of U.S. mills.

The International Cotton Exposition held in Atlanta, Georgia definitively marked a change in the southern attitude toward manufacturing. Though often referred to as the starting point of the southern textile movement, the Exposition actually resulted from a change which was already in the air. The Exposition ran for three months, from October through December of 1881. According to historian Alice Galenson, when initially proposed the exposition had nothing to do with promoting southern textile development:

> The International Cotton Exposition of 1881 was first proposed by a northern businessman, Edward Atkinson, with the idea of improving the condition in which raw cotton reached northern manufacturers. . . . However, some southerners realized the much greater potential of such a fair, and the Constitution was soon recommending that it be used to show the South's advantages for manufacturing and to attract capital.[32]

The 1881 Exposition included exhibits from 33 states and 6 foreign countries.[33] Among these was a joint exhibit by the West Point Manufacturing Company and the Alabama-Georgia Manufacturing Company displaying "good quality soft and hard thread duck."[34] As part of Georgia's "New South" attitude, the Exposition became a crucible for southern development. It was a southern response to the highly acclaimed Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876. It echoed "New South" ambitions to shed the defeatist skin of the Civil War and to develop the untapped wealth of the region. As stated by Georgia historian E. Merton Coulter, "The purpose of the exposition was not merely to show what Georgia and the South had done, but especially to fire the soul of the people with the desire to go forward in manufacturing."[35] It did indeed spark a desire for southern cotton manufacturing and not just in the South. The Atlanta Exposition initiated a flow of northern capital into southern mills. With the Exposition, advertisements began to appear in newspapers throughout the southern states of Northerners seeking southern

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[32]Alice Galenson, *The Migration of the Cotton Textile Industry From New England to the South: 1880-1930* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985), 75, 76.

[33]Galenson, 77.

[34]Fretwell, *Frontier*, 294.

[35]Coulter, 408.

manufacturing partners. Broadus Mitchell accurately summarizes the Exposition's significance:

> The International Cotton Exposition, held in Atlanta in the closing months of 1881, occupies a significant place in the history of Southern cotton mills. It accomplished two things: first, it drew together the South's apostles of a new industrial order into confirmatory exchange of views and plans, and afforded concrete, tangible encouragement to already forming aspirations; second, it opened the eyes of the North to the field of investment that lay in the South, breaking down intersectional economic and political barriers of prejudice.[36]

The development of the West Point Manufacturing Company stands out as a significant example of the transition of the southern textile industry from the limited industry of the antebellum years to the booming "mill fever" years. The Company's development over fourteen years prior to 1880 exhibits every characteristic of the "mill fever" boom across the South. These characteristics became especially notable under the leadership of Lafayette Lanier after 1873, years before the southern textile movement is conventionally considered to have begun.

1886 - 1906: Prosperity & Expansion of the West Point Manufacturing Company

Three events in 1886 significantly influenced the future development of the West Point Manufacturing Company. With his father-in-law's death in 1886, Lafayette Lanier became Treasurer of the Alabama-Georgia Manufacturing Company (Riverdale) and assumed its leadership. At the time, the two textile mills remained two separate companies.

In the same year, potential disaster struck the West Point Manufacturing Company. Fire destroyed the company's sole mill building at Langdale. In the face of adversity, Lafayette Lanier chose to rebuild and expand. To do so he sought large-scale northern capital. Seeking outside capital for mill building or expansion became a common practice during the booming years after 1880. Lanier raised the necessary capital through the company's selling agency, N. Boynton and Company of Boston. As a result, the new board of directors became controlled largely by northern entrepreneurs rather than local interests. A majority of the directors of the new board were Boston residents, connected with N. Boynton & Co. The treasury of the reorganized corporation was moved to Boston, where Horace S. Sears was made treasurer. Most directors' meetings for many years were held in Boston, but stockholders' meetings were held in Langdale.[37]

These events initiated a new period of development for the West Point Manufacturing Company which stretched to 1906 under Lafayette Lanier's leadership. It was a period of

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[36]Mitchell, 122.

[37]Lanier, 13 - 14.

prosperity for the company characterized by reorganization and expansion with northern capital. Similar development occurred throughout the South and also within the immediate area. Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and North Carolina remained the top four southern textile states. With the "mill fever" boom after 1880, Alabama mill development lapsed behind the other three states. Because of Alabama's less intensive textile development after 1880, the development of the West Point Manufacturing Company fits much more tightly into the context of mill development in Georgia rather than Alabama. Indeed, although the mills and villages associated with the company are located in Alabama, the corporate offices have always been maintained across the state line in West Point, Georgia creating a significance which stretches beyond the confines of either state alone.

With stronger capital, the West Point Manufacturing Company expanded while still under Lafayette Lanier's leadership. In 1892 the two neighboring textile mills which shared common beginnings and leadership joined forces with the Alabama-Georgia Mill (Riverdale) becoming a subsidiary of West Point. The Lanett Cotton Mills was also incorporated in 1892 as a subsidiary of the company. In 1895, the Lanett Bleachery and Dye Works and the Chattahoochee Valley Railroad became incorporated as associated companies. Expansion continued to the turn of the century with a second mill constructed at Lanett (Lanett No. 2) in 1899.[38] A listing of Georgia textile mills in 1900 included the Lanett Cotton Mills as associated with West Point, Georgia. The Lanett Mills at that time contained 1500 looms and 56,000 spindles at a capitalization of $500,000. The only other mill listed in Georgia with more spindles was the J.P. King Manufacturing Company in Augusta with 1812 looms and 60, 288 spindles at a capitalization of one million dollars.[39]

The Company chartered the Chattahoochee Valley Railroad in 1895 to provide freight and passenger service connecting the Valley mills and villages. Lafayette Lanier became the railroad's first president and Horace Sears of N. Boynton & Company, the northern financial partner, became treasurer. Prior to the railroad, the river served as the connecting link between the mills. Lafayette and Ward Crocket Lanier had established the Chattahoochee Navigation Company in 1884. Barges such as the "Belle Lanier" ran up and down the river hauling freight between the two original mills.[40] Occasionally, the activities of the Navigation Company were considered newsworthy by Troup County's *LaGrange Reporter*. In 1883 during the expansion of the villages, the newspaper noted the "Belle Lanier" making two trips each day. In addition to other freights,

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[38]Ibid.

[39]Georgia Department of Agriculture, *Georgia: Historical and Industrial* (Atlanta: The Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1901), 337-338.

[40] *Valley Times - News*. '76, 2A.

"she is taking down the lumber for the twenty-three operatives' houses."[41] Just as the barges had replaced freight wagons, the Chattahoochee Valley Railroad replaced the barges as the most efficient, modern means of transportation. At the time of construction, the West Point Manufacturing Company held four mills in the Valley. The first section built extended five-and-one-half miles connecting the mills and villages with the railroad at West Point. Eventually the Chattahoochee Valley Railroad traversed 41 miles and offered both competitive freight rates and passenger service.[42]

The development of the railroad coincided with another significant technological advancement, the shift to electric power. Initially, rivers such as the Chattahoochee and its shoals along the fall line governed the siting of the mills. Gradually steam replaced raw water power in the South. The technology for steam power had been available since around 1830, but in many places such as the Chattahoochee Valley simple water power remained the cheapest and best source of driving the turbines. In 1880, only 16 percent of the South's textile mills were powered by steam. The number jumped significantly by 1890 to 48 percent. By 1900, the majority of southern mills, 64 percent, were powered by steam.[43] However, by the turn-of-the-century hydroelectric power began superseding steam. By the 1890's, long-range electric power transmission became possible and the first large, all-electric textile mill was built in 1894 in Columbia, South Carolina.[44] In Valley as elsewhere, the conversion to electricity overshadowed the role of the River in industrial development.

1895 -1922: Mill Fever in LaGrange

Freed from the river by steam and electric power, mill fever picked up momentum, and by 1895 it had a firm grip on the South and the area surrounding the Chattahoochee Valley. In the tradition of the 1881 Exposition, Atlanta hosted a second, larger fair in 1895, the Cotton States and International Exposition. The mill building momentum carried on with few excuses for motive now other than success. Newspapers in every community frequently spread the hype. In Troup County, Georgia, as was typical throughout the South, northern investors boosted the interest of local residents when it came to building mills. An 1895 visit to nearby LaGrange by such investors

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[41]*LaGrange Reporter*, (31 May 1883).

[42]Lanier, 18. In 1932 resulting from the Depression, the company abandoned the northern extension and discontinued passenger service. Recently in 1993, the CVRR was totally abandoned. The community is exploring possible rails-to-trails conversion of the corridor.

[43]Galeson, 158.

[44]Galeson, 158; David L. Carlton, *Mill and Town in South Carolina, 1880-1920* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 46; J. Tracy Power and Frank E. Brown, III, "Textile Mills in South Carolina Designed by W.B. Smith Whaley, 1893-1903," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1990.

gave rise to the establishment of Dixie Mill that year.[45] Many LaGrange citizens invested in the mill including Fuller E. Callaway, who would provide the most significant leadership for the textile development in the county, outside of West Point. The investors acquired land for the new mill on the northeast edge of LaGrange adjacent to the Atlanta and West Point Railroad. At first the mill operated by steam power and converted to electricity between 1913 and 1923.

Within a year Dixie Mills experienced serious financial and production problems. Fuller Callaway assumed a leadership role to pull the mill out of trouble. As Lafayette Lanier had done two decades earlier in West Point, Callaway replaced the secondhand machinery responsible for production problems and contracted with a northern selling agent to market the mill's products. Within two years Dixie Mills recovered.[46] In 1904 Wellington Sears, which was the Boston firm associated with the West Point Manufacturing Company, purchased Dixie Mills. A significant addition was made in 1913 expanding plant operations. In 1933, the West Point Manufacturing Company bought the mill from Wellington Sears.[47]

Fuller E. Callaway (1870-1928) epitomized the New South. Before the Civil War, his family had been quite prosperous. His father had established an academy near Greenville in neighboring Meriwether County and, in 1860, owned a prosperous estate with twenty slaves. At the end of the war, he invested his cash in land both in Meriwether and Troup Counties plus in 100 bales of stored cotton. By 1870 the family had moved to the land purchased in the Long Cane community in Troup County. With the death of his mother in 1878, Callaway quit school and, at eight years old, began peddling small goods such as thread in the Long Cane community. When he was twelve, he rented some farmland and bought a mule with the $60 he had saved. At fourteen, Callaway moved to LaGrange to work for merchant E. R. Bradfield. In 1888, he established his own mercantile business.

As a merchant, Callaway broke with conventional methods of doing business. He focused on stocking large quantities of one item which he could buy and sell more cheaply than the typical merchant. He also invested in aggressive sales and advertising, an unusual thing for the time. Most remarkably, Callaway ignored the crop lien system and dealt in cash sales only. Around 1890, he established a full scale department store in LaGrange with a wide selection and low prices.

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[45]Dixie Mills became the second textile mill built in LaGrange. LaGrange Mills, which began as a cotton oil mill in 1883, started textile production in 1888.

[46] Donna Jean Whitley, *Fuller E. Callaway and Textile Mill Development in LaGrange. 1895-1920* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989), 53-75.

[47]Bob Blythe, Dixie Mill, draft text for Vernacular Architecture Forum Tour Guide, 1999. Sources include Sanborn Insurance Maps, 1906, 1911, 1921, 1930, and mill record books in collection of the Cobb Memorial Archives, Valley, Alabama.

After saving his original investment and divesting himself of Dixie Mills, Callaway returned to managing his mercantile business. However in 1900, J. H. Lane and Company, the northern selling agent for Dixie Mills, instigated the organization of a new mill. Once again, LaGrange merchants and residents responded with enthusiasm. Local investors included C. V. Truitt, a businessman and farm supplier; J. E. Dunson, a banker and merchant, and Fuller E. Callaway. Although Callaway's financial investment was relatively small, J. H. Lane and Company insisted he play an active management role. From the start, Unity Mill produced duck.

In 1905, Fuller Callaway established his second mill in Southwest LaGrange, the Elm City Cotton Mills. This area of LaGrange would eventually include four mill complexes (Unity Mill, Elm City Mill, Unity Spinning Mill, and Hillside Mill) with their associated structures and housing. In effect, the area is one large mill village with a distinct commercial district.
Mill leadership in LaGrange clashed, leading Fuller Callaway to form the Calumet Company in 1907 to take over operations at Unity Mill. That same year, economic development in LaGrange received a big boost with the coming of Atlanta, Birmingham, and Coast Railroad. Callaway took the lead in securing this rail line through the City to resolve problems with high freight rates on existing rail lines. Since Reconstruction, complaints that high railroad rates were crippling the South had been common in communities such as LaGrange. The system used for calculating rates actually made it cheaper to ship goods to Hogansville, Georgia and Opelika, Alabama than to LaGrange. Local merchants like Callaway viewed the system as stifling to business and industrial development in LaGrange. A second line offered competitive rates and improved access for Troup County.

After the clash with Callaway, Joseph Eugene Dunson established his own enterprise, Dunson Mill, in 1910. Hillside Cotton Mills built by Callaway in 1915 became the seventh textile mill built in LaGrange. In 1923 Stark Mills in Hogansville became the last mill built in Troup County within the historic period. Unlike other Troup County mills which were built through local control (even if northern capital was involved), Lockwood, Greene, and Company of Boston built Stark Mills without local assistance. Through its 1913 purchase of Consolidated Duck, Lockwood, Greene had acquired the Hogansville Manufacturing Company (renamed International Cotton Mills).

Mill engineers, such as Lockwood, Greene, and Company, represent the increased professional specialization of the textile industry after 1880. Sometimes referred to as "mill doctors," the engineers became indispensable in mill building. The original founder, Amos Lockwood, made Stephen Greene a partner in the company in 1882 and for the next 40 years Lockwood, Greene was the most active organization engaged in textile engineering in New England and the South. Mill engineers, such as Lockwood, Greene of Boston; D. A. Tompkins of Charlotte; W. B. Smith Whaley of Columbia; and J. E. Sirrine became involved with every aspect of the textile industry including engineering

With the construction of Stark Mills in 1923, the dramatic period of textile development in Troup County was complete. The Chattahoochee Valley and Troup County contained fifteen large-scale textile mills making the vicinity one of Georgia's top textile producing areas.

1906 - 1948: West Point Manufacturing Company Expansion

As Lafayette Lanier's health declined, his son George Huguley Lanier (1880 - 1948) assumed leadership of the West Point Manufacturing Company in 1906. Since 1873, Lafayette Lanier had been the active leadership behind the Valley mills. Though he shared responsibility with his brother Ward Crockett Lanier who served as president from 1887 to 1896, Lafayette really ran and managed the mills. The historic marker located near Langdale Mill expresses the significance of his leadership well: "The business genius, enterprise and vision of Lafayette Lanier, (1845 - 1910), president 1896 - 1910, were largely responsible for the industrial and civic development of 'The Valley.'"[48]

George Huguley Lanier became the third generation of the family to assume the helm of the Valley mills. He also represented a new breed of southern textile mill men. Textile mills had risen to the status of "big business" by the early twentieth century and a whole new field of technical education opened up with it. G. H. Lanier began his textile education laboring in the mills, learning from the bottom up. He studied for two years in the North at the Philadelphia Textile School. Then he gained experience as superintendent of the Pepperton Mills in Jackson, Georgia for three years. He then returned to Valley to assume the management responsibilities of the West Point Manufacturing Company and its subsidiaries.[49]

The period of development from 1906 to 1933 under George Lanier's leadership is characterized by continued expansion through planned mill communities and the gradual conversion to hydroelectric power. In rapid succession, the company built two new mills and villages, Shawmut and Fairfax. Significantly, the new villages were laid out as planned communities. The company laid out the Shawmut mill and village in 1907 and Fairfax in 1913. With the establishment of the Fairfax Mill, the company began diversifying production. Fairfax was designed for towel manufacture. The company also established the West Point Utilization Company at Fairfax to productively use cotton waste as stuffing material. The West Point Manufacturing Company also converted all production to hydro-electric power during this period and built the necessary facilities.

1933 - 1948: Large Scale Expansion - George Lanier

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[48]Historic Chattahoochee Commission, *Chattahoochee Trace Historical Markers in Alabama and Georgia* (Eufaula, AL: Historic Chattahoochee Commission, 1983), 20.

[49]Lanier, 18-19.

The final historic period of development associated with the West Point Manufacturing Company from 1933 to 1948, was marked by general prosperity and large-scale regional expansion. At the height of the Depression, George Lanier further expanded the West Point Manufacturing company. In 1933, the company expanded beyond the Chattahoochee Valley for the first time by acquiring the Dixie Cotton Mills in nearby LaGrange, Georgia. At the time Wellington-Sears (N. Boynton & Co. reorganized) owned Dixie Cotton Mills and needed capital.

World War II brought increased prosperity to the company meeting wartime demands. In 1942, new facilities were built for the prosperous Utilization Company at Fairfax. The company's stability through the Depression and War led to a surprising flip-flop in financing. In 1945, the West Point Manufacturing Company bought its selling agency, Wellington-Sears, which had been responsible for the company's earlier financing. In doing so, the company also acquired Wellington-Sears' subsidiaries which included two South Carolina textile mills.[50]

The company continued to expand during the postwar years. Throughout the South, the industry changed rapidly as did technology and the nation after World War II. Most southern mills began divesting themselves of village properties in the 1950s. The West Point Manufacturing Company began selling its village housing to residents in 1953. In that year the company sold 1900 village houses and lots to its employees.[51] In 1965, the company merged with the Pepperell Manufacturing Company, founded in 1844 in Biddeford, Maine, to form the West Point-Pepperell Manufacturing Company.[52] A subsequent 1993 merger formed the West Point-Stevens Company.

1866 - 1948: Mill Village Landscape and Architecture of the Chattahoochee Valley

Mill villages are essentially self-contained communities developed by the textile mill owners to provide for the necessarily large workforce. The textile mill itself is an integral part of the mill village. However, mill villages also include residential, commercial, and institutional resources. The southern textile mill village comprised not only an economic unit, but an even more dynamic social center as well. According to one source:

> At the turn of the century ninety-two percent of southern textile families lived in villages owned by the men who gave them work. For these people, perhaps more than for any other industrial work force, the company town established the contours of everyday existence. It was not only a place to work and earn a living; it was also the setting in which men and women fell in love, married, reared their children, and retired in old age. Within the village, millhands created a new way of

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[50]Lanier, 23.

[51] Lanier, 24.

[52]Fretwell, *West Point*, 74.

life by adapting their rural heritage to the unfamiliar realities of industrial labor.[53]

The mill villages of Valley, Alabama (Langdale, Riverview, Fairfax, and Shawmut), and those of LaGrange (particularly Dixie Mill Village and Southwest LaGrange) provide classic illustrations of the southern textile mill village, its development and evolution.

Samuel Slater, America's first textile mill builder, is also credited with developing the concept of a mill village. Slater arranged small cottages in regular street patterns around the textile mill.[54] Southern mill builders adopted this same small town pattern which was more compatible with the Southern rural lifestyle than the dormitory style housing built in large Northern industrial centers. The Southern textile builders also followed Slater's system of using the family as a labor unit. The general rule of thumb in village design calculated one laborer for each room within a mill house.[55]

Valley's unplanned, nineteenth century mill villages, Riverview and Langdale developed along these lines, as did Dixie and Southwest LaGrange. Each village began as clusters of vernacular houses immediately surrounding the mills. As the mills prospered and grew, additional streets were laid out on an irregular pattern following the local topography. These mills also adhered to utilizing the family as a labor unit. Typically the operatives had been white tenant farmers from the surrounding area who sought a better life in the mills. The vernacular village housing was very similar to the rural tenant houses they knew. Sometimes operatives who had been neighbors on the farm chose to live near one another in the mill village as well. The Randolph Hill neighborhood of Langdale consisted largely of workers from nearby Randolph County, Alabama.

Graniteville, South Carolina developed by William Gregg in 1854, is often cited as the first true southern textile mill village. The three story granite mill building is overlooked by a row of Gothic style frame cottages across the millrace. Gregg also built boarding houses, a church, and school for his self-contained remote village. Because of Gregg's loud advocacy for Southern mill building and the idyllic village design, Graniteville has received much recognition including listing as a National Historic Landmark. However, Graniteville was not wholly unique. Alabama's Daniel Pratt developed the industrial village of Prattville in 1833 and urged development of mill villages. According to Jonathan Wiener, by the 1850s:

[Pratt] assured the planters that the industrialization which would make them more

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[53]Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, et al., *Like A Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 114.

[54]Vogel, 74.

[55]Vogel, 78-79.

> capable of seceding would not create a class-conscious urban proletariat antithetical to the southern social order. The key was to avoid creating industrial cities by establishing small manufacturing villages, which would be secure from the disruptive influences of northern urban life.[56]

Graniteville's Gothic cottages proved to be somewhat atypical of mill village architecture. Rather than stylish, mill village buildings tend to be vernacular and unadorned. As is the case in Valley, operative housing tended to be one story, three or four room, detached dwellings. With little exception, these houses were built of wood with clapboard siding and rested on pier foundations. Common vernacular house types found in mill villages include the hall and parlor, double pen (a duplex version), shot gun, and Georgian plan cottage.[57] These vernacular house types are also found in the Valley mill villages. By the turn of the century, textile advocate Daniel Augustus Tompkins popularized standard plans for these vernacular forms by publishing them in a handbook titled, *Cotton Mill. Commercial Features.* Though no documented connection has been established with the Valley mill villages, according to one authority, "Most mill housing built after 1900 reflected Tompkins's recommendations."[58]

The early twentieth century brought professional landscape design to the mill village. As exemplified by Shawmut, laid out in 1907, village streets no longer emulated the grid but followed the "city beautiful" movement. Architects, landscape architects, and mill engineers became the designers of mill villages throughout the South. Landscape architects such as Earle S. Draper of Charlotte gave villages a rural, pastoral look often incorporating rock retaining walls and curvilinear avenues. The twentieth century also brought a proliferation of institutional buildings such as churches, schools, gyms, and libraries to the mill villages. Unlike the operative housing, these buildings tended to be architect designed.

During the twentieth century, the West Point Manufacturing Company commissioned regional architect R. Kennon Perry to design many of the institutional buildings in the Valley area. For example Perry designed the Langdale Auditorium and the Lafayette Lanier Elementary School in Langdale, both of which were built c. 1935. Perry employed the popular Colonial Revival (or Georgian Revival) style for these two buildings and others.

Operative housing remained vernacular in character even in planned and designed mill villages. House types popular in the nineteenth century such as the double pen and gabled ell

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[56]Wiener, 144.

[57]The Georgian plan is named for its association with 18th century English Georgian architecture. The plan consists of a central hall and two rooms on either side. Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Section, *Georgia's Living Places: Historic Houses in Their Landscaped Settings*, 1991, I-26.

[58]Hall, 116.

cottage were not wholly abandoned, but new house types did appear. Shawmut and Fairfax contain excellent examples of the bungalow, pyramid cottage, and New South cottage.[59] Though not documented through the historic resource surveys, according to an early twentieth century fire insurance map of Fairfax, the village contained a section of housing for black workers. These were tightly clustered, small, two-room houses (probably shotguns).[60] Village design incorporated every aspect of daily life including recreation. Pelzer, South Carolina provides a typical example:

> Much was done to provide recreational opportunities and family entertainment for the employees of the mill. Among the offerings were an opera house hosting plays and concerts, a roller skating rink, a pavilion for dancing, an outdoor swimming pool, a "Wheel Club" for bicycle enthusiasts, a park with benches and summer houses, an aviary, a menagerie (with badgers, deer, monkeys and brown bears), a brass band, and a military company known as the Smyth Rifles.[61]

But baseball seemed to top the list of village recreation everywhere. For most communities like the Valley mill villages, the field occupied a convenient green space. During the Depression Era, the "glory days" of textile league baseball, some villages such as Piedmont, South Carolina built baseball fields. According to Hunter Smith, a Valley resident, such recreational opportunities did much to lighten the weight of the Depression years. "Amid the gloom of those times there were bright spots that made life enjoyable. Each Valley town had a baseball team comprised of local talent and competition was keen."[62]

After 1900 mill villages developed less as isolated rural villages and tended to be clustered on the edges of existing towns and cities as was the case in LaGrange. "As a result, places such as Charlotte, Greenville, and Burlington [North Carolina] developed less as real cities than as loose collections of unincorporated mill villages joined by central business districts."[63]

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[59]The New South cottage is named for the turn-of-the-century period of economic growth and regional confidence. "The New South cottage resembles the Queen Anne cottage in that it has a central square mass, usually with a tripped roof, and gabled projections." *Georgia's Living Places*, I-29.

[60]Manufacturers Mutual Fire Insurance Company, Providence, RI, "West Point Manufacturing Company, 'Fairfax Village Property,'" 1933. Copy on file at Cobb Memorial Archives, Valley, Alabama.

[61]Thomas K. Perry, *Textile League Baseball: South Carolina's Mill Teams, 1880-1955* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., Inc., 1993), 3.

[62]Chattahoochee Valley Historical Society, *Memories of the Great Depression* (Valley, AL: CVHS, 1993), 55.

[63]Hall, 116.

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APPENDIX I: TEXTILE DIRECTORY DATABASE REPORT

Textile Directory Database - Methodology

Lisa Pfueller Davidson, HAER Historian

The Textile Directory Database uses selected editions of three textile industry directories housed in the Library of Congress. These directories are *Davison's Textile Blue Book* (New York: Davison Publishing Co.), *Dockham's American Trade Reports and Directory of the Textile Manufacture and Dry Goods Trade* (Boston: C.A. Dockham and Co.), and *Textile Manufacturers' Directory of the United States* or *American Textile Directory* (New York: American Directory Co., Inc.). The names of these directories vary somewhat over the years.

The directory years range from 1866 to 1940, with the most thorough coverage from approximately 1890-1920. The directory editions included in the database are roughly every five years, but availability created gaps for some directories and allowed additional years for others. *Davison's Textile Blue Book* is the most consistent and well-represented directory in the database with editions for every two to four years from 1888 to 1940 included. *Dockham's American Trade Reports* provides the earliest coverage starting in 1866 and going up to 1925, but with large gaps in availability. *Textile Manufacturers' Directory* is available for the years from 1874 to 1911 only, but consistently every two to five years.

The database compiles a standard set of information from all of the included directories: mill name, directory date, directory name, company, date, capital, product, number of spindles - ring, twist and type not available, number of looms - broad, narrow, and type not available, power source, number of employees, and miscellaneous notes. Empty fields for any of these categories indicate that information was not available for that year. The information in the textile directory database is only as reliable as the original directories, and it is important to know that inconsistencies do appear in the original listings. All information has been transcribed as presented in the original directories. Comparing directories or editions is useful for determining the relative accuracy of specific listings.

Each textile directory report includes all of the entries available in the database for a given county, town or mill. This phase of the Textile Industry Database includes entries for LaGrange and Hogansville, Georgia; Valley, Selma and Huntsville, Alabama; and Graniteville, South Carolina. The database will be expanded along with the HAER Southern Textile Industry Survey.

Notes on Specific Fields:

Mill (name): Historic name changes sometimes make a specific mill difficult to track. Where possible, name changes are noted in the Notes field, or location and company name can be used to identify a mill by its historic name.

Directory Date and Directory: These two fields identify the year and type of directory that entry was from.

Davisons = *Davison's Textile Blue Book*
Dockhams = *Dockham's American Trade Reports and Directory of the Textile Manufacture and Dry Goods Trade*
Textile = *Textile Manufacturers' Directory of the United States* or *American Textile Directory* (name varies).

Company: While these directory reports are sorted primarily by mill name, the company name is included for all entries to show consistency or changes in ownership.

Date: The date in this field either refers to the year of incorporation for the mill or the year operations began, as listed in the directory. Inconsistencies in this field generally result from this difference, or indicate that the mill was reincorporated.

Capital: Sometimes the capital amount given for a certain mill actually refers to the capital for a larger company operating multiple mills. This fact is mentioned in the Notes field where possible.

Product: The types of fabrics and yarns made at the mill during that directory year are listed.

Spindles (Ring, Twist, or Type Not Available): The numbers reported in the directories usually appear to be estimates rounded to the nearest 100 or 1000.

Looms (Broad, Narrow, or Type Not Available): The numbers reported in the directories usually appear to be estimates rounded to the nearest 100. When the specific size of loom was mentioned, that information appears in the Notes field.

Power: It is often not clear from the directories when a mention of electric power means just for lighting or for operating machinery as well.

Employs: The numbers reported in the directories usually appear to be estimates rounded to the nearest 10.

Notes: This field contains miscellaneous information where appropriate, sometimes including amounts additional types of machinery such as cards and pickers.

Selected Textile Directory Listings for LaGrange, Troup County, Georgia

Mill	Directory Date	Directory	Company	Date	Capital	Product	Spindles Ring	Spindlss Twist	Spindlss Typs N/A	Looms Broad	Looms Narrow	Looms Type N/A	Power	Employs	Notes
Dixie Cotton Mill	1896-97	Davisons	Dixie Cotton Mills	1895	$300,000.00	sheeting, shirting, and drills			17,000			356			102 cards
Dixie Cotton Mill	1896-97	Textile	Dixie Cotton Mills						15,000						
Dixie Cotton Mill	1899-1900	Davisons	Dixie Cotton Mills	1895	$300,000.00	sheeting, drills, duck snd hoissry yarns 6 to 24	18,000					380	steam	350	78 cards, 50-50" looms, 330-40" looms
Dixis Cotton Mill	1900-01	Davisons	Dixie Cotton Mills	1895	$300,000.00	sheeting, drills, duck and hosiery yams 6 to 24				385			steam	350	58 cards, 55 looms - 51", 330 looms - 40"
Dixis Cotton Mill	1901	Dockhams	Dixie Cotton Mills	1896	$350,000.00	duck, sheetings, drills, hosiery ysm, 8s to 30s	18,000		1,280	55	325		stsam		1,280 mule spindles
Dixie Cotton Mill	1901-02	Textile	Dixie Cotton Mills	1896	$350,000.00	drills, duck, sheeting, hoisery yams, 6 to 24	20,000			385			steam	375	55 51" and 330 40" looms
Dixie Cotton Mill	1904-05	Davisons	Dixie Cotton Mills	1896	$450,000.00	sheeting, drills, duck snd hosisry yams	20,000			115	285		stesm		
Dixie Cotton Mill	1905	Dockhsms	Dixie Cotton Mills	1896	$450,000.00	duck, sheetings, drills	20,000			115	285		steam		115 - 50", 285 - 40"
Dixie Cotton Mill	1905-06	Davisons	Dixis Cotton Mills	1896	$450,000.00	sheeting, drills, duck	20,000			115	285		steam		65 cards
Dixie Cotton Mill	1905-06	Textile	Dixie Cotton Mills	1896	$350,000.00	drills, duck, sheeting, hosiery yams, 6 to 24	17,500			385			stesm	375	65 51" and 330 40" looms, 650 H.P.
Dixie Cotton Mill	1906-07	Davisons	Dixie Cotton Mills	1896	$417,500.00	sheetings, drills, duck	20,000			115	285		steam	400	4 boilers, 64 cards
Dixie Cotton Mill	1910-11	Textils	Dixie Cotton Mill		$500,000.00	drills, sheeting snd flat thresd ducks	20,000			400			stsam		320 40" and 80 50" looms
Dixie Cotton Mill	1914	Dockhams	Dixie Cotton Mills	1896		duck, sheetings, drills	23,000	10,000		400			stssm & elec.		115 50" looms, 285 40" looms
Dixie Cotton Mill	1914-15	Davisons	Dixie Cotton Mills	1896	$500,000.00	7 to 9 oz. ply duck	22,144	1,152		80	319		electric	450	66 cards
Dixie Cotton Mill	1915-16	Davisons	Dixie Cotton Mills	1896	$500,000.00	army duck	23,936	11,520		36	361		elsctric	400	66 cards
Dixie Cotton Mill	1916-17	Davisons	Dixie Cotton Mills	1896	$500,000.00	army duck	23,936	11,520		36	361		stesm & elec.	500	5 boilers, 66 cards
Dixie Cotton Mill	1918-19	Dockhsms	Dixie Cotton Mills	1896	$500,000.00	duck	23,000	10,000		400			stssm & elec.	400	115 50" looms, 285 40" looms, 64 cards
Dixis Cotton Mill	1920	Dsvisons	Dixie Cotton Mills	1916	$500,000.00	army duck	23,936	11,520		112	222		electric	500	67 cards, reincorporeted in 1916

Mill	Directory Date	Directory	Company	Date	Capital	Product	Spindles Ring	Spindles Twist	Spindles Type N/A	Looms Broad	Looms Narrow	Looms Type N/A	Power	Employs	Notes
Dixie Cotton Mill	1922	Davisons	Dixie Cotton Mills	1916	$500,000.00	army duck	23,936	11,520		112	222		steam & elec.	500	80 cards, 5 boilers
Dixia Cotton Mill	1925	Davisons	Dixie Cotton Mills	1916	$400,000.00	duck	23,938	11,520		48	320		electric	375	83 cards
Dixia Cotton Mill	1925	Dockhams	Dixie Cotton Mills	1896	$400,000.00	duck	23,936	11,520		113	221		electric (buy)	400	
Dixie Cotton Mill	1927-28	Davisons	Dixie Cotton Mills	1916	$400,000.00	duck	23,936	11,520		136	232		steam & elec.	400	87 cards, 3 boilers
Dixie Cotton Mill	1930	Davisons	Dixie Cotton Mills	1916	$400,000.00	army duck	23,936	11,520		136	232		electric	400	83 cards
Dixie Cotton Mill	1935	Davisons	Dixie Cotton Mills	1916	$400,000.00	army duck	23,936	11,520		136	232		electric	400	83 cards, buy 6,500 bales
Dixie Cotton Mill	1940	Davisons	Dixie Cotton Mills	1916	$400,000.00	army duck	22,888	5,760		80	327			475	83 cards
Dunson Mill	1914	Dockhams	Dunson Mills	1911	$500,000.00	sheetings, drills, ducks	20,000			150	250			350	
Dunson Mill	1914-15	Davisons	Dunson Mills	1910	$500,000.00	drills, duck, twills and osnaburgs	20,000	2,000		150	250		steam	300	100 cards
Dunson Mill	1915-16	Davisons	Dunson Mills	1910	$500,000.00	drills, duck, twills and osnaburgs	20,000	3,000		150	250		steam	300	100 cards
Dunson Mill	1916-17	Davisons	Dunson Mills	1910	$500,000.00	drills, duck, twills and osnaburgs	20,000	3,000		150	250		steam	300	100 cards, 4 boilers
Dunson Mill	1918-19	Dockhams	Dunson Mills	1911	$500,000.00	sheetings, drills, twills, osnaburg	21,168			152	286		staam	350	
Dunson Mill	1920	Davisons	Dunson Mills	1910	$500,000.00	drills, duck, twills and osnaburgs	21,168	1,872		152	286		alectric	375	99 cards
Dunson Mill	1922	Davisons	Dunson Mills	1910	$500,000.00	drills, duck, twills, sheetings and osnaburgs	21,168	1,872		152	286		steam & elec.	300	99 cards, 4 boilers
Dunson Mill	1925	Davisons	Dunson Mills	1910	$500,000.00	drills, duck, twills, shaetings and osnaburgs	35,000	10,000				850	electric	620	154 cards
Dunson Mill	1925	Dockhams	Dunson Mills	1911	$500,000.00	drills, twills, osnaburgs, enameling ducks	32,000					750	staam, buy elec	600	do not dye
Dunson Mill	1927-28	Davisons	Dunson Mills	1910	$500,000.00	drills, duck, twills and osnaburgs	41,000	10,000				900	steam & elec.	650	200 cards, 4 boilers
Dunson Mill	1930	Davisons	Dunson Mills	1910	$1,000,000.00	drills, duck, twills and osnaburgs	41,000	10,584				955	electric	650	200 cards
Dunson Mill	1932	Davisons	Dunson Mills	1910	$1,000,000.00	drills, duck, twills and osnaburgs	41,000	10,584				955	steam & elec.	650	200 cards, 4 boilers
Dunson Mill	1940	Davisons	Dunson Mills	1910	$1,000,000.00	drills, ducks, twills, and osnaburgs	41,000	10,584				955	steam & elec.	650	200 cards, 4 boilers

Mill	Directory Date	Directory	Company	Date	Capital	Product	Spindles Ring	Spindles Twist	Spindles Type N/A	Looms Broad	Looms Narrow	Looms Type N/A	Power	Employs	Notes
Elm City Cotton Mill	1906-07	Davisons	Elm City Cotton Mills	1905	$250,000.00	cotton goods									expect to be built during 1906
Elm City Cotton Mill	1910-11	Davisons	Elm City Cotton Mills	1905	$315,600.00	wide duck	10,368			110			steam	350	63 cards
Elm City Cotton Mill	1910-11	Textile	Elm City Cotton Mills		$315,000.00	duck			10,400			110	steam		
Elm City Cotton Mill	1914	Dockhams	Elm City Cotton Mills	1905	$315,000.00	cotton duck	10,368			120			steam		
Elm City Cotton Mill	1914-15	Davisons	Elm City Cotton Mills	1905	$315,600.00	wide duck	10,368			120			steam	350	63 cards
Elm City Cotton Mill	1915-16	Davisons	Elm City Cotton Mills	1905	$315,600.00	wida duck	10,368			120			steam	350	63 cards
Elm City Cotton Mill	1916-17	Davisons	Elm City Cotton Mills	1905	$315,600.00	wide duck	10,368			120			steam	350	63 cards, 4 boilers
Elm City Cotton Mill	1918-19	Dockhams	Elm City Cotton Mills	1905	$315,000.00	cotton duck	11,664			120	18		steam		
Elm City Cotton Mill	1920	Davisons	Elm City Cotton Mills	1905	$315,600.00	wide duck	11,664			138			steam	350	64 cards
Elm City Cotton Mill	1922	Davisons	Elm City Cotton Mills	1905	$315,600.00	wide duck	11,664			138			steam	350	54 cards, 4 boilers
Elm City Cotton Mill	1925	Davisons	Elm City Cotton Mills	1905	$315,600.00	fire fabrics, duck and osnaburg	11,664	2,800		129			steam	350	84 cards
Elm City Cotton Mill	1927-28	Davisons	Elm City Cotton Mills	1905	$315,600.00	fire fabrics, duck and osnaburg	11,664	2,800		129			steam	350	64 cards, 4 boilers
Elm City Cotton Mill	1930	Davisons	Elm City Cotton Mills	1905	$315,600.00	hose and belting duck	11,664	2,976		114	48		steam	350	64 cards, 4 boilers
Elm City Cotton Mill	1932	Davisons	Elm City Cotton Mills	1905	$315,600.00	hose and belting duck	11,664	2,976		114	48		steam	350	64 cards, 4 boilers
Elm City Mill	1935	Davisons	Callaway Mills			duck	11,664					184	electric	480	64 cards, buy 10,000 bales, including Rockweave Mill
Elm City Plant	1940	Davisons	Callaway Mills			duck	11,664					154	steam & elec.	260	74 cards, 4 boilers
Hillside Cotton Mill	1915-16	Davisons	Hillside Cotton Mills	1914	$500,000.00	yams and twines			20,000						dye
Hillsida Cotton Mill	1916-17	Davisons	Hillside Cotton Mills	1914	$750,000.00	yams and twines	25,000	6,000				472	steam & elec.	600	172 cards, dye, bleach, finish, 7 boilers
Hillside Cotton Mill	1918-19	Dockhems	Hillside Cotton Mills	1914	$750,000.00	ducks, yams	25,200	8,386		684			steam & elec.	1,500	do not dye
Hillside Cotton Mill	1920	Davisons	Hillside Cotton Mills	1914	$750,000.00	duck	29,520	6,000				696	electric	1,400	176 cards
Hillside Cotton Mill	1922	Devisons	Hillsida Cotton Mills	1914	$750,000.00	duck, drills, yams and twines	29,520	6,000				696	staam & elec.	700	176 cards, 7 boilers

Mill	Directory Date	Directory	Company	Date	Capital	Product	Spindles Ring	Spindles Twist	Spindles Type N/A	Looms Broad	Looms Narrow	Looms Type N/A	Power	Employs	Notes
Hillside Cotton Mill	1925	Davisons	Hillside Cotton Mills	1914	$750,000.00	duck, drills, yems and twines	29,520	8,000				696	electric	700	176 cards
Hillside Cotton Mill	1925	Dockhems	Hillside Cotton Mills	1914	$750,000.00	duck	29,200	8,386		684			steam, electric	1,500	dye raw stock
Hillside Cotton Mill	1930	Davisons	Hillside Cotton Mills	1914	$750,000.00	duck, drills, whipcords, yarns and twines	29,520	6,000				968	electric	700	172 cards
Hillside Cotton Mill	1932	Davisons	Hillside Cotton Mills	1914	$750,000.00	duck, drills, whipcords, yarns and twines	29,520	8,000				966	steam & elec.	700	172 cards, 7 boilers
Hillside Mill	1935	Davisons	Calleway Mills			colored yns, twills, sateens, dk, corduroys, whipcords, moleskins, chafer f	31,680					952	electric	1,080	172 cards, dye
Hillside Plant	1940	Devisons	Calleway Mills			colored yns, twills, seteens, dk, corduroys, whipcords, moleskins, chafer,	31,880					868	steam & elec.	1,200	184 cards, dye, 7 boilers
LeGrange Mill	1890	Davisons	LaGrange Mills			cotton duck			5,000			75	steam		48 cards
LaGrange Mill	1893-94	Dockhems	LaGrange Mills	1888	$153,000.00	duck and yarn			5,000			75	steem		
LeGrange Mill	1894-95	Davisons	LaGrange Mills	1888	$150,000.00	cotton duck			5,000			75	steem		48 cards
LaGrange Mill	1895	Dockhams	LaGrange Mills	1888	$153,000.00	duck end yem			5,000			75	steam		
LaGrange Mill	1895-96	Davisons	LaGrange Mills	1888	$150,000.00	cotton duck			5,000			75	steam		48 cards
LaGrange Mill	1896-97	Davisons	LaGrange Mills	1888	$150,000.00	cotton duck			5,000			75	steam		48 cards, 4 boilers
LaGrange Mill	1896-97	Textile	LaGrenge Mills		$157,400.00	cotton ducks end yams, 5s to 14s			5,000			75	steam		48 cards
LaGrange Mill	1899-1900	Davisons	LaGrange Mills	1888	$157,000.00	cotton duck	5,000					75	steam		48 cards, adding new mill
LaGrange Mill	1900-01	Davisons	LaGrange Mills	1888	$157,000.00	cotton duck	10,000					124	steam	350	76 cards
LaGrange Mill	1901-02	Textile	LeGrange Mills	1888	$157,400.00	duck and 4 to 12 yam	10,000					125	steam	325	74 cards
LeGrange Mill	1904-05	Davisons	LaGrange Mills	1888	$157,000.00	cotton duck	10,000					124	steem	850	78 cards
LaGrange Mill	1905	Dockhams	LaGrange Mills	1888	$157,400.00	duck and yam, 4s to 12s	10,000					124	steam		

Mill	Directory Date	Directory	Company	Date	Capital	Product	Spindles Ring	Spindles Twist	Spindles Type N/A	Looms Broad	Looms Narrow	Looms Type N/A	Power	Employs	Notes
LaGrange Mill	1905-06	Davisons	LaGrange Mills	1888	$157,000.00	cotton duck	10,000					124	steam	350	76 cards
LaGranga Mill	1905-06	Textile	LaGrange Mills	1888	$157,400.00	duck and 4 to 12 yam	10,000					125	steam	325	74 cards
LaGranga Mill	1906-07	Davisons	LaGrange Mills	1888	$157,000.00	cotton duck	10,000					124	steam	350	6 boilers, 76 cards
LaGrange Mill	1910-11	Davisons	Consolidate d Cotton Duck Co.			cotton duck	10,000			100			staam		76 cards, see Baltimore, not running June 1910
LaGrange Mill	1910-11	Textile	LaGranga Mills		$157,400.00	duck, yam and rope, currently idle	10,000					124	steam		currently idle
LaGrange Mill	1914	Dockhams	Consolidate d Cotton Duck	1888	$157,400.00	duck and yarn, 4s to 12s	10,000					100	steam		owners from Baltimore
LaGrange Mill	1914-15	Davisons	International Cotton Mills			duck	10,000			100			steam		60 cards
LaGranga Mill	1915-16	Davisons	International Cotton Mills			duck	10,000			100			steam		60 cards
LaGrange Mill	1918-17	Davisons	International Cotton Mills			duck	9,984			100			steam		60 cards, 4 boilers
LaGrange Mill	1918-19	Dockhams	International Cotton Mills			duck	10,000			122			electric	375	see Boston
LaGrange Mill	1920	Davisons	Intarnational Cotton Mills			duck	9,984					122	electric	400	
LaGrange Mill	1922	Davisons	International Cotton Mills			duck, twills, and press clothes	9,984					112	elactric	400	60 cards
LaGrange Mill	1925	Davisons	New England Southern Mills			hose, belting and twills	9,984					118	electric	400	60 cards
LaGrange Mill	1927-28	Davisons	Naw England Southam Mills			hose, belting and twills	9,984	2,864				112	steam & elec.	300	60 cards, 2 boilers
LaGrange Mill	1930	Davisons	Celumet Cotton Mills		$2,000,000.00	hose and belting duck	9,984	2,864				112	electric	228	60 cards, 5 garnets, 7 pickers
LaGrange Mill, Calumet	1932	Davisons	Calumet Cotton Mills			hose and belting duck	9,984	2,864				112	staam & elec.	228	60 cards, 5 gamets, 7 pickars, 2 boilers
LaGrange Mill, Calumet	1935	Davisons	Callaway Mills			rope, sash cord, wrapping twine, laundry textiles	9,984						alectric	390	60 cards, 5 garnets, 7 pickars

Mill	Directory Date	Directory	Company	Date	Capital	Product	Spindles Ring	Spindles Twist	Spindles Type N/A	Looms Broad	Looms Narrow	Looms Type N/A	Power	Employs	Notes
LaGrange Mill, Calumet Plant	1940	Davisons	Callaway Mills			rope, sash cord, wrapping twine, carded, yarns, laundry textilas	9,984					24	steam & elec.	335	81 cards, 5 garnets, 7 pickars, 2 boilers
New England Southern Mill	1925	Dockhams	New England Southern Mills			hose and belting ducks, carpet yarns	9,984	2,864		118			electric	300	60 cards, 8 pickers, 1 garnett, from Boston, MA
Oakleaf Mill	1930	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1926		wiping cloths, fabrics and special yarns			4,248			100	electric	250	34 sets carda, 24 sewing machines
Oakleaf Mill	1932	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1926		wiping cloths, fabrics and special yarns		4,248				100	electric	250	34 sets cards
Oakleaf Mill	1935	Davisons	Callaway Mills			industrial towels, flannels		3,168				150	electric	226	68 sets cards
Oakleaf Plant	1940	Davisons	Callaway Mills			industrial towels, flannels, coarse cut wd. and mixed fibre yarns		3,168				150	electric	230	34 sets cards
Park Cotton Mill	1900-01	Davisons	L.M. Park and Sons			sheeting, duck, and drills			1,600	52			water and steam		14 cards, 36" looms
Park Cotton Mill	1901	Dockhams	Park Cotton Mills			ducks, yarns, 6s to 20s, single and ply sheetings, shirtings and drills	1,600					52	water and steam		successor to Troup Factory, 10 miles from LaGranga
Park Cotton Mill	1901-02	Textile	Troup Factory			ducks, drills, sheetings, and 6 to 20 yarns	1,600					52	water and steam		14 cards
Park Cotton Mill	1904-05	Davisons	Park Cotton Mills	1902	$20,000.00	duck, drills, yams	1,600			52			steam		14 cards, dye, 36" looms
Park Cotton Mill	1905	Dockhams	Park Cotton Mills	1902		sheetings, duck, drills, ball warps, skein yams, single and ply 8 to 18s			1,600			52	steam		
Park Cotton Mill	1905-06	Davisons	Park Cotton Mills	1902	$20,000.00	ducks, drills, yams	1,600			52			steam	50	14 cards, 36" loorns
Park Cotton Mill	1905-06	Textile	Park Cotton Mills	1902	$20,000.00	ducks, drills, sheeting and 6 to 20 yarns	1,600					52	water and steam		14 cards
Park Cotton Mill	1906-07	Davisons	Park Cotton Mills	1902		sheetings, duck, drills, and 10 to 18 yarns	1,600				52		staam	50	2 boilers, 14 cards, 36" loorns
Park Cotton Mill	1910-11	Davisons	Park Cotton Mills				1,600			52			steam		14 cards, 36" loorns, not running 1907-10

Mill	Directory Date	Directory	Company	Date	Capital	Product	Spindles Ring	Spindles Twist	Spindles Type N/A	Looms Broad	Looms Narrow	Looms Type N/A	Power	Employs	Notes
Park Cotton Mill	1910-11	Textile	Park Cotton Mills			4x4 sheetings and yarns, 10s to 14s skeins and ball warps			1,600			52	steam		currently idle
Park Cotton Mill	1914	Dockhams	Park Cotton Mills	1902		duck, drills, etc.	2,032			52			electric		36" looms
Park Cotton Mill	1914-15	Davisons	Park Cotton Mills	1902		duck for shoe trade	2,032	650		52			electric		8 cards, 36" looms
Park Cotton Mill	1915-16	Davisons	Park Cotton Mills	1902	$25,000.00	duck and drills	2,464	650		84			electric		8 cards, 32 40" looms, 52 36" looms
Park Cotton Mill	1916-17	Davisons	Park Cotton Mills	1902	$25,000.00	duck and drills	2,464	650				84	alectric		8 cards, 32 40" looms, 52 36" looms
Park Cotton Mill	1918-19	Dockhams	Park Cotton Mills	1902	$25,000.00	yams, warps, tubes and skains	3,328	1,000					elactric	30	do not dye
Park Cotton Mill	1920	Davisons	Park Cotton Mills	1902	$25,000.00	10 to 20 waaving yams on skeins, warps and tubes	3,328	1,544					electric	50	8 cards
Park Cotton Mill	1922	Davisons	Park Cotton Mills	1902	$25,000.00	10 to 20 weaving yams on skeins, warps and tubes	3,328	1,544					electric	50	8 cards
Park Cotton Mill	1925	Davisons	Park Cotton Mills	1902		10 to 20 weaving yams on skeins, warps and tubes	3,328	1,544					elactric	50	8 cards
Park Cotton Mill	1925	Dockhams	Park Cotton Mills	1902	$25,000.00	yams, warps, tubes and skeins	3,328	1,850					electric	55	
Park Cotton Mill	1927-28	Davisons	Park Cotton Mills			idle	3,328	1,544					electric		8 cards, idle April 1927
Rockweava Mill	1930	Davisons	Rockweave Mills	1928	$500,000.00	laundry supplies, nets, bags, baskets, etc.									40 sewing machines, est. 1925, inc. 1928
Rockweave Mill	1932	Davisons	Elm City Cotton Mills	1928	$350,000.00	laundry supplies, cover cloths, nets, bags									45 sewing machines
Troup Factory	1866	Dockhams	Robertson, Leslie & Co.												
Troup Factory	1870-71	Dockhams	Robertson, Leslie & Co.			osnaburgs and yarns			2,200						
Troup Factory	1874	Textile	Troupe Factory			6oz & 8oz osnaburgs, 6oz chacks & stripes, cotton yam 5 to 12			2,500			50			

Mill	Directory Date	Directory	Company	Date	Capital	Product	Spindles Ring	Spindles Twist	Spindles Typa N/A	Looms Broad	Looms Narrow	Looms Type N/A	Power	Employs	Notes
Troup Factory	1874-75	Dockhams	Troup Factory			osnaburgs, checks, denims, yams			2,200						
Troup Factory	1880	Taxtile	Troup Factory		$100,000.00	6oz and 8oz osnaburgs, chacks and stripes, cotton yarn 5 to 12			2,300		50				24 cards
Troup Factory	1885	Textile	Troup Factory			osnaburgs, chickas, denims, stripes, yarn, etc.			2,300			50			24 cards
Troup Factory	1887	Textile	Troup Factory		$47,600.00	sheetings, shirtings, and drills			1,600			52	water and steam		1 boiler, 1 ww, 12 cards
Troup Factory	1890	Davisons	Troup Factory			sheetings, shirtings, and drills			1,600			52	steam		outside of city
Troup Factory	1893-94	Dockhams	Troup Factory	1881	$47,600.00	sheetings, shirtings, and drills	1,600			52			water		10 miles from LaGrange, looms 36"
Troup Factory	1894-95	Davisons	Troup Factory	1845	$47,600.00	sheetings			1,600	52			water and steam		14 cards, 36" looms
Troup Factory	1895	Dockhams	Troup Factory	1881	$47,600.00	sheetings, shirtings, and drills				52			water		looms, 36"
Troup Factory	1895-96	Davisons	Troup Factory	1845	$47,600.00	sheetings			1,600	52			water and steam	60	14 cards, 36" looms
Troup Factory	1896-97	Davisons	Troup Factory	1845	$47,600.00	shaetings			1,800		52		water and steam	60	14 cards, 1 boiler, 1 ww, 36" looms
Troup Factory	1896-97	Textile	Troup Factory		$47,600.00	sheeting, shirtings, drills, yarns 12s to 14s			1,600			52	water and staam		14 cards, outside of LaGrange
Troup Factory	1899-1900	Davisons	Troup Factory						1,600	52			water and steam		14 cards, 36" looms, not running may start in fall
Unity Cotton Mill	1900	Dockhams	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,000.00	duck, belting, hose, sail cloth, packing duck	10,368					118	steam		14 pickers
Unity Cotton Mill	1900-01	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1900											proposed
Unity Cotton Mill	1901-02	Taxtile	Unity Cotton Mills	1901		undar construction			10,000						under construction
Unity Cotton Mill	1904-05	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,000.00	heavy duck and yarns	10,368			88	30		electric	375	57 cards

Mill	Directory Date	Directory	Company	Date	Capital	Product	Spindles Ring	Spindles Twist	Spindles Type N/A	Looms Broad	Looms Narrow	Looms Type N/A	Powar	Employs	Notes
Unity Cotton Mill	1905-06	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,000.00	heavy duck and yarns	10,368			88	30		electric	375	57 cards
Unity Cotton Mill	1905-06	Textile	Unity Cotton Mills	1901	$250,000.00	duck	10,368					118	steam	325	60 cards, 15 pickers, 12 spoolers
Unity Cotton Mill	1906-07	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,000.00	heavy duck and carpet yarns	10,368			88	30		ateam and elec.	375	57 cards, 5 boilers
Unity Cotton Mill	1910-11	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,000.00	heavy duck end carpet yarns	10,368			122	30		steam	375	62 cards
Unity Cotton Mill	1910-11	Textile	Unity Cotton Mills		$250,000.00	cotton duck and yarn, 7s to 12s in skeins	10,380	3,000		112	30		steam		
Unity Cotton Mill	1914-15	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,000.00	heavy duck and carpet yarns	10,800			43	30		steam	375	61 cards
Unity Cotton Mill	1915-16	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,000.00	heavy duck and carpet yarns	10,800			113	30		steam	300	64 cards
Unity Cotton Mill	1916-17	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,000.00	heavy duck and carpet yarns	10,800			113	30		staam	300	64 cards, 5 boilers
Unity Cotton Mill	1918-19	Dockhams	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,700.00	cotton duck, belting, hose, sail cloth, packing duck	10,800					143	steam	325	14 pickers, 64 cards
Unity Cotton Mill	1920	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,000.00	heavy duck, hosa and belting, twills and filter fabrics	11,232			133	30		steam	375	64 cards
Unity Cotton Mill	1922	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,000.00	heavy duck, hose and belting, twills and filter fabrics	11,232			133	29		steam	375	64 cards, 5 boilers
Unity Cotton Mill	1925	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,000.00	heavy duck, hose end belting, twills and filter fabrics	11,232			133	29		steam	375	64 cards
Unity Cotton Mill	1925	Dockhems	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,700.00	duck, belting, hose, sail cloth, packing duck, filter cloth, tire fabrics	11,232			128	16		electric	325	14 pickers, 64 cards
Unity Cotton Mill	1927-28	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,700.00	duck, twills, filter and tire fabrics	13,824	2,285		118			electric	375	84 cards
Unity Cotton Mill	1930	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,700.00	hose and belting duck, twills and tire fabrics	12,960	2,628			134		electric	350	82 cards
Unity Cotton Mill	1932	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1900	$250,700.00	hose and belting duck, twills and tire fabrics	12,960	2,628			134		electric	350	82 cards
Unity Mill	1935	Davisons	Callaway Mills			duck and tire cord	12,960				60		electric	340	82 cards, buy 10,000 bales

Mill	Directory Data	Directory	Company	Date	Capital	Product	Spindles Ring	Spindles Twist	Spindles Type N/A	Looms Broad	Looms Narrow	Looms Type N/A	Power	Employs	Notes
Unity Plant	1940	Davisons	Callaway Mills			duck and tire cord	12,960				12		ateam & elec.	320	82 cards, 2 boilers
Unity Spinning Mill	1910-11	Textile	Unity Spinning Mill			special yams, twines and cords for manufacturing trade			10,368						
Unity Spinning Mill	1914-15	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1909		special yams, cable cords, hose-cords and twine	14,688	3,486					steam	275	80 cards
Unity Spinning Mill	1915-16	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1909		special yams, cable cords, hose-cords and twine	14,688	4,484					steam	375	94 cards
Unity Spinning Mill	1916-17	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1909		special yams, cable cords, hose-cords and twine	14,688	4,484					steam	375	94 cards, 4 boilers
Unity Spinning Mill	1920	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1909		special yams, cable cords, hose-cords and twine	14,688	4,484					steam	325	94 cards
Unity Spinning Mill	1922	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1909		special yams, cable cords, hose-cords and twine	14,688	4,484					steam	325	94 cards
Unity Spinning Mill	1927-28	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1909		special yarna, cable cords, hose-cords and twine	14,688	5,300					steam & elec.	550	94 cards, 4 boilers
Unity Spinning Mill	1930	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1909		special yams, cable cords, hose-cords and twine	15,552						electric	550	Unity Spinning Mills Plant No. 3 combined with Oakleaf Mills
Unity Spinning Mill	1932	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills	1909		special yams, cable cords, hose-cords and twine		15,552					steam & elec.	550	4 boilers
Unity Spinning Mill	1935	Davisons	Callaway Mills			carded yams		15,552					electric	560	94 cards
Unity Spinning Mill No. 3	1927-28	Davisons	Unity Cotton Mills			special yama			3,168				electric	120	new mill
Unity Spinning Plant	1940	Davisons	Callaway Mills			carded yams		15,552					steam & elec.	465	94 cards, 4 boilers

Mill	Directory Dete	Directory	Company	Data	Capital	Product	Spindles Ring	Spindles Twist	Spindles Type N/A	Looms Broad	Looms Narrow	Looms Type N/A	Power	Employs	Notes
Valway Rug Mill	1930	Davisons	Valwey Rug Mills	1928	$500,000.00	cotton chanille rugs and towels						123	electric	200	50 jax., 54 weft, 6 towel, 13 dobby looms, 16 braiders, 24 sewing mechinas, dye, bleach
Valway Rug Mill	1932	Davisons	Valway Rug Mills	1928	$500,000.00	cotton chenille rugs and towels							electric	200	50 jax., 54 weft, 6 towel, 13 dobby looms, 16 braiders, 24 sewing machines, dye, bleach
Valway Rug Mill	1935	Davisons	Callaway Mills			chenilla and tufted rugs and mats						149	electric	285	16 braiders, 24 sewing machines, dye
Valway Rug Plant	1940	Davisons	Callaway Mills			chenille end tufted rugs and mats, chenille yarn and bedspreads						148	electric	290	16 braiders, 24 sewing machines, dye
West Georgia Mill	1896-97	Textile	Wast Georgia Mills		$200,000.00	proposad									proposed

APPENDIX II: EXCERPTS FROM THE VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE FORUM 1999 ANNUAL CONFERENCE TOUR BOOK

Editor: Robert W. Blythe
Contributors: Robert W. Blythe, Cari Goetcheus, Jennifer B. Leynes, Christine Trebellas, Steve A. Davis, and Kaye Lanning Minchew

Introduction

LaGrange, Georgia, is one of many southern communities that became textile centers during the decades following the Civil War. Named for the estate of French General Marquis de Lafayette, the town was founded in 1828 as the county seat of newly created Troup County. The LaGrange Female Academy was established in 1831 and the Southern Female College was established in 1842; the former institution remains as LaGrange College. The Atlanta and West Point Railroad was extended through LaGrange between 1847 and 1857. Beyond its educational role, the town primarily functioned as a marketing center and railroad shipping point for surrounding agricultural areas until the development of the local textile industry.[1]

As was typical of Georgia county seat towns during the nineteenth century, LaGrange developed around a courthouse square. Unfortunately, the integrity of this layout has been compromised by developments during the twentieth century. After the Troup County Courthouse was destroyed in a 1936 fire, the replacement facility was built a block off the square as a New Deal work project. Even the Confederate monument, a fixture of southern county seat towns, was relocated from the square to a nearby cemetery. Several decades later, the square was redesigned with a statue of Lafayette as the focal point.[2]

The nineteenth-century marketing town of LaGrange was surrounded in the late 1800s and early 1900s by textile communities. Under the leadership of and with financial backing from local businessmen, LaGrange's development as a textile center began with the LaGrange Mills in 1888. On the eastern edge of LaGrange, the Dixie Mill was built in 1895, and the Dunson Mill was constructed in 1910. Built in 1900, the Unity Mill was the first in a series of mills that eventually became Callaway Mills. Located in Southwest LaGrange, these mills included the 1905 Elm City Mill, the 1909 Unity Spinning Mill, and the 1915 Hillside Mill. Several units of the Hillside Mill were incorporated as separate entities during the late 1920s, including the Oakleaf,

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[1]Donna Jean Whitley, *Fuller E. Callaway and Textile Mill Development in LaGrange, 1895-1920* (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1984), 13-16, 115-116.

[2]Glenda Major and Forrest Clark Johnson, III, *Treasures of Troup County: A Pictorial History* (LaGrange, Georgia: Troup County Historical Society, 1993), 138, 172, 183.

Rockweave, Valley Waste, and Valway Mills.[3]

The development of the textile industry proved to be a significant urbanizing force in LaGrange. In contrast to the cluster of self-contained mill villages that eventually became Valley, Alabama, the mill villages in the LaGrange area were extensions of an existing town. The growth of these mill sections and the annexation of Southwest LaGrange increased the population of LaGrange from 5,587 in 1910 to 17,038 in 1920, a three-fold increase that made LaGrange Georgia's seventh largest municipality.[4] Since the 1950s, the decline of the southern textile industry and increased mechanization have eliminated most of LaGrange's textile jobs as the community has attracted other manufacturing operations. The resulting industrial mix includes makers of such diverse products as plastic film, circuit breakers, filtration devices, aluminum and plastic automobile trim, ambulances, and agricultural machinery.[5]

Southwest LaGrange

Located west of the Atlanta and West Point Railroad and south of the Atlanta and Birmingham Railroad, Southwest LaGrange was a series of mill villages in the Callaway Mills group. The community's growth began in 1900 with the construction of the Unity Mill and continued with the establishment of the Elm City Mill, the Unity Spinning Mill, and the Hillside Mill with its associated units. With the exception of the Unity Mill area, Southwest LaGrange was incorporated as a separate municipality between 1917 and 1920 before its annexation by LaGrange.[6]

Southwest LaGrange was essentially one large mill village. The four mill complexes with associated mill ponds were surrounded by worker houses and boarding houses on gridiron streets. Common house types included gabled wing cottages, front-gabled bungalows, pyramid cottages, and saddlebag houses, although other types were built in fewer numbers. Foremen lived in the larger houses, such as the craftsman bungalows along Lincoln Street. African-American mill workers, who generally held menial jobs, either lived in the black neighborhoods of LaGrange or in two segregated mill villages on the periphery of Southwest LaGrange. Since most of the dwellings in these two African-American villages were saddlebag houses divided into duplexes,

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[3]Clifford L. Smith, *The History of Troup County* (Atlanta: Foote and Davies Company, 1933), 115-122; Whitley, 53-80.

[4]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *The Eighteenth Decennial Census of the United States, Census of Populotion: 1960*, volume 1, *Chorocteristics of the Populotion*, part A, *Number of Inhobitonts* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), 12-11—12-12.

[5]Major, *Treasures*, 147, 248-251.

[6]Whitley, 144, 149-150, 253-284.

the living spaces for black workers were generally smaller than those for white workers. The community's business district was centered along Lincoln and Jefferson Streets and included an early 1930s commercial block designed with classical detailing by Ivey and Crook of Atlanta for Callaway Mills. This business district eventually contained three grocery stores, two general merchandise operations, two cafes, a drug store, a shoe store, a furniture store, a beauty shop, a barber, and a theater.[7]

Mill paternalism in Southwest LaGrange included churches, schools, recreational activities, and social services, all provided by Callaway Mills. With the financial support of Callaway, the Episcopal Church operated a mission in the community from 1906 to 1920, providing a hospital, training school, and other social services. Among Southwest LaGrange's amenities were Callaway Park, various athletic facilities, a YMCA, community pastures and barns, and greenhouses.[8]

Dixie Mill and Village

Dixie Cotton Mills, the second textile mill to locate in LaGrange, was organized in 1895 at the height of the South's Cotton Mill Campaign. Investors from New York and New Hampshire apparently led the effort to establish Dixie, although one company history gives credit for the original idea to an unnamed itinerant preacher.[9] The northerners convinced a number of LaGrange residents, among them merchant Fuller Earle Callaway, to subscribe capital. Land for the mill on the northeast border of LaGrange was purchased from George H. King, son of African-American bridge-builder Horace King. Located on the Atlanta and West Point Railroad, Dixie initially operated on steam power, converting to electricity between 1913 and 1923.

The original Dixie Mill was a 100 foot by 450 foot two-story brick structure with a shallow hip roof and a three-story central entry tower. Wood-sided cotton warehouses, still standing, were built in a row to the east perpendicular to the mill itself, and the original office (now gone) was a free-standing, one-story building facing Greenville St. in the space between the warehouses and the east end of the mill. The mill employed a novel construction system invented and patented by Rhode

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[7]D. Roth and Associates, Inc., *Troup County*, 1989 architectural survey report, Troup County Archives, LaGrange, Georgia, 2-5; *City Directory, LaGrange, Georgia, 1938* (LaGrange, Georgia: LaGrange City Directory Company, 1938), 149, 155, 156, 158, 159, 163, 166; *Sanborn Insurance Map, LaGrange, Georgia* (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1921), 21, 22, 26, 32, 33, 34; *Insurance Maps of LaGrange, Troup County, Georgia* (New York: Underwriters Map Associates, 1920), 18, 19, 34; Julie Turner, Forrest Clark Johnson, III, Glenda Major, and Kaye Lanning Minchew, *Travels through Troup County: A Guide to its Architecture and History* (LaGrange, Georgia: Troup County Historical Society, 1996), 89.

[8]Whitley, 191-218.

[9]Floyd Tillery, "Magnolias and Monarchs: An Historical Story of the West Point Manufacturing Company" (West Point, Ga., 1948), typescript, 237.

Island architect and engineer Charles A. Praray. Praray's chief innovation was to place the outer walls of a mill on a separate foundation from the columns and foundations that carried the floor and roof loads. The walls thus became a self-supporting envelope, and the spaces between piers could be filled almost entirely with windows, letting in substantially more light. In case of fire, the walls could collapse without damaging the steel column and wood beam structural system that held up the mill itself, allowing fire fighters better access to the interior and making reconstruction quicker and less costly. Praray recommended that the window bays be shallow triangles in plan, giving his mill exteriors a corrugated appearance. Mills using the Praray system were also built in Douglasville, Georgia, Haw River, North Carolina, and Selma, Alabama. During and just after World War II, the West Point Company built a series of shallow additions all along the front and back of the mill, removing in the process the last vestiges of the undulating walls characteristic of the Praray system at Dixie. The top stories of the two towers were also lopped off, making them now barely noticeable.[10]

Dixie began operating in 1896, but antiquated machinery caused problems from the start. Seeing his life savings at risk, local investor Fuller Callaway assumed management of the mill for two years, buying new equipment and putting the mill on a sounder footing. Callaway then sold his shares, and another local shareholder, Otis Augustus Austin Dunson, became president and superintendent at Dixie. Problems persisted, however, and in 1904, the Boston textile sales agents Wellington Sears bought the mill. By 1913, operations were successful enough to justify a 99 foot by 196 foot addition to the plant, designed by the firm of Lockwood, Greene & Co., and located to the west of the original mill building; a second stair tower was built along the front where the addition began. The addition abandoned the Praray system in favor of traditional brick bearing walls with punched windows. The present free-standing office structure on Greenville Street was also built at that time.[11]

In the early 1900s, Dixie had 350 to 450 operatives, housed in about 140 company-owned dwellings. The Dixie mill town was organized around a public square, located on the opposite side of Greenville St. from the mill. The presence of the square gave Dixie an especially townlike aspect, with the mill replacing a civic building as the dominant feature overlooking the public space of the square. West of the mill along Greenville St. were the houses of the superintendent and supervisors. These were larger and more individually differentiated than houses built for Dixie operatives, and they were the only houses with staggered setbacks, further distinguishing them from other dwellings in the town. Operatives' houses were arrayed on streets facing the square, along Greenville St. to the east of the mill, and on additional parallel streets north of Greenville Street. Several streets were originally named for plant superintendents, although only one,

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[10]Sanborn Insurance Maps, 1906, 1911, 1921, 1930; U.S. Patent Office, Patent No. 518,274, April 17, 1894; Providence Journal of Commerce (March 1898), 61.

[11]Tillery, 237; Kenneth Coleman and Charles Stephen Gurr, Dictionary of Georgia Biography (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1983), 152.

DeGroat, escaped a later name change. Dixie featured a variety of frame house types: shotgun cottages, front-gabled cottages, side-gabled cottages, gable-on-hip-roofed duplexes, gable-wing cottages, and two-story saltbox houses. The choice of the saltbox form may have been influenced by the northeastern investors in Dixie's early days. All the other housing types in the village are common southern vernacular types. Each block tended to have a row of just one house type, which undoubtedly reinforced the association of house with job typical in many mill towns.

Because Dixie was located in a thriving small city, its owners provided fewer community amenities than owners of mills in more isolated areas. The company provided a kindergarten, which for many years was housed in a combination school/community center on the west side of the square (now demolished). At first, Dixie children attended regular city schools following kindergarten. The company contributed to the construction of Dixie grammar school, which opened in 1911, and also maintained the school and grounds.[12] Not wanting to compete with established merchants in the city, Dixie's owners never established company stores, and residents did much of their shopping in downtown LaGrange. The village had a Methodist and a Baptist church, partially subsidized by the mill owners. The Methodist church, a front-gabled frame vernacular type with side aisles and a small belfry, remains at the corner of Fair and Chattahoochee Streets. Much of the square was given over to a baseball field and recreational areas. Gone today are four shotgun houses that once stood near the northwest corner of the square.[13]

The Great Depression hit Dixie hard, and the mill closed for a period in 1932. Mill superintendent Albert Lehmann went to great lengths to assist his unemployed workers. Gaining access to treelots from area landowners, Lehmann organized his hands into work crews to cut timber and sell it as stovewood. Soon the mill was back in business on a minimum schedule. The following year, West Point Manufacturing Company bought Dixie from Wellington Sears, but retained the firm as selling agents. George H. Lanier of the West Point Company had been a Dixie stockholder since 1916.[14]

Once it became a subsidiary of West Point, Dixie gained access to the well-developed community welfare programs of that company. Dixie got its own recreation director, and a program of athletics, bands and choruses, arts and crafts, and Boy and Girl Scout troops was established. During West Point's ownership, a fieldhouse, baseball grandstand, and boxing ring were erected in the northeast section of the square. None survives. The Dixie baseball team, the Owls, attracted the enthusiastic support of mill families.

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[12]*Sixteenth Annual Report of the LaGrange Public Schools* (LaGrange: Billinghurst Printing Co., 1919), 10,13.

[13]Sanborn Insurance Maps.

[14]Tillery, 238-39; LaGrange Daily News, September 14, 1916.

For its first three decades, Dixie produced primarily cotton ducks of various weights, including substantial amounts of tent-weight duck for the military. In the late 1930s, the mill began experimenting with blended fabrics for the garment trade, but switched back to ducks at the onset of World War II. Employing as many as 700 people on three shifts during the war, Dixie achieved peak yearly production of more than 13 million pounds. The town also threw open its community center to servicemen at nearby Fort Benning, providing meals and recreation. After the war, the mill quickly converted to production of synthetic fabrics, largely rayons. West Point also built four concrete block houses along Fair Street in 1946, the last it would provide for its Dixie operatives In the early sixties, Dixie became a terry toweling mill, which it remains today.[15]

By 1950, only about one-half of Dixie's workforce still lived in the mill village, and between 1953 and 1960, the company sold off all the houses to tenants. Sales prices generally were between $2,000 and $4,000. West Point Pepperell closed Dixie briefly in the 1980s, but soon re-opened it. Heavily automated and employing a much smaller workforce, Dixie remains in operation more than one hundred years after its founding, a tangible link to the Cotton Mill Campaign of the late 19th century.[16]

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[15]Tillery, 239-40.

[16]West Point Manufacturing Company, Maintenance and Equipment Notebooks for Dixie Mills, in collection of Cobb Memorial Archive, Chambers County Library, Alabama.

ADDENDUM TO
TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN LaGRANGE, GEORGIA
LaGrange
Troup County
Georgia

HAER No. GA-98

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIV E DATA

REDUCED COPIES OF INTERPRETIVE DRAWINGS

Historic American Engineering Record
National Park Service
U. S. Department of the Interior
1849 C St., NW Room NC300
Washington, DC 20240

HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD

TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN LaGRANGE, GEORGIA

HAER No. GA-98

This report is an addendum to a 44 page report previously prepared for the Library of Congress.

Location:	LaGrange, Troup County, Georgia
Dates of Construction:	1888-89; 1900-01; 1905-07; 1908-09; 1914-15
Architects:	A. Francis Walker (Atlanta); Park A. Dallis (Atlanta)
Builders:	Pike Brothers (LaGrange); John T. Grandy & Sons (Greenville, SC); Thompson Brothers (Birmingham and Charlotte)
Original Owner:	Callaway Mills, LaGrange, GA
Present Owner:	Milliken & Co., Spartanburg, SC
Original Use:	cotton textile production
Present Use:	LaGrange Mill - demolished Former Callaway Mills - cotton & synthetic textile production
Significance:	The history of the textile industry in LaGrange, Georgia parallels its development in the entire Piedmont section of the Southeastern United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The first mill in LaGrange, LaGrange Mill (1888-89) was constructed during the cotton mill building boom of the 1880s. The continued expansion of the Southern textile industry during the early twentieth century began to rival the dominance of the major New England mills. From 1900 to 1915, four cotton mills were built in the unincorporated area of Southwest LaGrange, all under the leadership of local merchant and entrepreneur Fuller E. Callaway. Starting with Unity Mill and its associated mill worker housing in 1900-01, the addition of Elm City Cotton Mill in 1905-07, Unity Spinning in 1908-09, and Hillside Mill in 1914-15 transformed the southwest area of LaGrange into a series of overlapping mill neighborhoods. Southwest LaGrange features a remarkable collection of

early twentieth century mill buildings and associated textile industry structures such as warehouses, and mill worker housing built incrementally using various popular house types as the mills expanded.

Historian: Lisa Pfueller Davidson

Project Information: The documentation of LaGrange, Georgia's textile industry was part of the Southern Textile Industry Project conducted by the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER), National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, and started by Dean A. Herrin, HAER Historian. Study of the former LaGrange/Calumet Mill and the Callaway Mils in 1999-2000 was sponsored by the Troup County Historical Society (LaGrange, Georgia), and financed in part with Federal funds from the National Park Service, US Dept. of Interior, through the Historic Preservation Division of the GA Dept. of Natural Resources. Kaye Lanning Minchew, Director, Troup County Archives, directed the funding and conception of this project. Drawings were produced by Richard K. Anderson, Jr., Cultural Resource Documentation Services, Sumter, South Carolina. Lisa Pfueller Davidson, HAER/NCSHPO Historian, served as project leader and historian. Jet Lowe, HAER staff photographer, completed large format photographs.

The Callaway Mills in LaGrange, Georgia and the Emergence of a Southern Textile Industry, 1888-1935

The history of the textile industry in LaGrange, Georgia parallels its development in the entire Piedmont section of the Southeastern United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The first two mills in LaGrange, LaGrange Mill (1888-89) and Dixie Mill (1895-96), were constructed during the cotton mill building boom of the 1880s and 1890s. The continued expansion of the Southern textile industry during the early twentieth century began to rival the dominance of the major New England mills. From 1900 to 1915, four cotton mills were built in the unincorporated area of Southwest LaGrange, all under the leadership of local merchant and entrepreneur Fuller E. Callaway. Starting with Unity Mill and its associated mill worker housing in 1900-01, the addition of Elm City Cotton Mill in 1905-07, Unity Spinning in 1908-09, and Hillside Mill in 1914-15 transformed the southwest area of LaGrange into a series of overlapping mill neighborhoods. Southwest LaGrange's remarkable collection of early-twentieth-century mill buildings and associated textile industry structures such as warehouses, and mill worker housing was built incrementally using various popular house types as the mills expanded.

This report will build on previous Historic American Engineering Record research focusing on Dixie Mill (HAER No. GA-99). LaGrange Mill (later Calumet Mill), the first in LaGrange, is no longer extant. However, the mill's architectural and technological features will be discussed using evidence from historic photographs and drawings. The rest of this project will consider the four major early-twentieth-century mills constructed in Southwest LaGrange by Fuller E. Callaway - Unity, Elm City, Unity Spinning, and Hillside. These mills and their associated worker housing will be examined within the context of mill architecture, technology, and vernacular Southern house types of the early twentieth century.

Regional and Local Textile Industry Overview

Southern textile manufacturing became a major part of the regional economy in the late nineteenth century. A few antebellum textile mills, most notably those in Graniteville, South Carolina, and Prattville, Alabama attempted to create major Southern textile manufacturing sites based on the New England model. Most antebellum Southern mills were small endeavors producing coarse, homespun fabrics. Troup Factory, located nine miles outside of LaGrange, was founded as a grist mill in 1845, and began making sheetings and homespun textiles in 1848.[1] It was a modest two-story wood frame structure with a small belfry near one gable end.[2] This small scale and predominantly vertical form was typical of the first generation of cotton mills in the

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[1]This small operation remained on the outskirts of town until 1902, when it moved into a new structure in southwest LaGrange and operated as Park Mill from 1902-1926. Park Mill opened with only 1,600 spindles and 52 looms.

[2]See photograph in Troup County Archives, MS 107 Forrest Clark Johnson Collection, Series III Photographs, Box 1, Folder 6.

South.

Immediately after the Civil War, many Southern communities looked to industrial development as means of recovery after the economic ruin of the war. Historians have debated the nature of the post-war industrial expansion in the South. Many scholars, led by economic historian Broadus Mitchell's classic work, *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South*, saw the emergence of the textile industry as an unprecedented economic shift from the agricultural dependance of the Old South. More recently, historians have seen the late-nineteenth-century mill building boom as an extension of trends begun during the antebellum period and interrupted by the upheaval of the Civil War. Regardless, the extent and scale of industrial development in the late nineteenth century was unlike the modest beginnings earlier in the century. The creation of a distinctive mill village culture based in the paternalism of mill companies shaped the growth of the entire region for almost a hundred years.[3]

LaGrange's location in western Georgia linked it to the local textile industry that first developed on the Alabama side of the Chattahoochee River immediately after the war. In 1866, the Alabama-Georgia Manufacturing Company and the Chattahoochee Manufacturing Company both built mills on the banks of the Chattahoochee.[4] Each planned to utilize water power from the river to make osnaburg, a coarse fabric. After the depression in 1873, both mills came under the control of Lafayette Lanier and were upgraded to produce cotton duck. In 1880, Lanier reorganized as the West Point Manufacturing Company headquartered in West Point, Georgia.[5]

These early examples of post-war textile mill development in the Chattahoochee River valley only foreshadowed the major mill building boom of the next generation. New England had traditionally been the center of the textile industry in the United States, but many "New South" entrepreneurs and Northern investors sponsored mill building projects that created a new industrial landscape across the Piedmont region of the South. Initially the geography of the Piedmont region provided numerous sites along fall lines for water powered mills. An abundance of poor white labor in this area was another factor in the growth of a regional textile industry. The International Cotton Exposition held in Atlanta in 1881 was very influential in promoting the idea of mill building to small communities throughout the Piedmont and later credited with starting the spread of "mill fever" throughout the South. During the 1890s, the number of spindles in the four leading Southern textile states - North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and

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[3]Broadus Mitchell. *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1921.

[4]These mills were later known as Riverdale Cotton Mill and Langdale Cotton Mill. See HAER Nos. AL-165, AL-166, and AL-167 for more information.

[5]See Joseph L. Lanier, *The First 75 Years of the West Point Manufacturing Company, 1880-1955* (New York: The Newcomen Society, 1955).

Alabama - increased 200%.[6] By 1900 there were 6,228,264 spindles in the South; 1,115,448 were located in Georgia mills.[7]

LaGrange was also affected by "mill fever" in the 1880s. Improvements in the technology for steam power released mills from dependance on river bank sites. Instead good railroad access became a dominant factor in the location of textile mills in new areas. LaGrange was the county seat and an important regional commercial center with established railroad connections. The first modern textile mill in LaGrange was a steam-powered mill built in 1888 just southeast of the courthouse square. The LaGrange Oil and Manufacturing Company utilized the local railroad connections and enthusiasm for mill building to add a textile production division to its operations. Soon the textile aspect of the business overshadowed the original oil and cotton gin function. The second mill in LaGrange was Dixie Cotton Mill, built northeast of downtown in 1895-96. A group of Northern and local investors raised the capital for the mill designed by Charles A. M. Praray of Makepeace & Co. from Providence, Rhode Island. Dixie featured an unusual mill structural system with non-load bearing walls and series of repeating triangular window bays patented by Praray in 1894. Across the river in Lanett, Alabama, the massive new Lanett Cotton Mill was constructed in 1894 and expanded in 1899 using conventional slow-burning mill construction. All of these mills utilized steam power, moving textile mill development away from the river banks and closer to railroad lines for easier delivery of raw materials and shipment of products.

After the turn of the century, the textile mill boom in the South continued to gain momentum. The textile industry grew tremendously in LaGrange during this period as well. The first unit in the subsequent Callaway Mills group, Unity Mill, was built in Southwest LaGrange in 1900-01 (see HAER No. GA-127). Then Elm City Cotton Mill (1905-07; see HAER No. GA-128), and Unity Spinning Mill (1908-09, see HAER No. GA-129) were built nearby, creating a continuous mill village neighborhood in a previously undeveloped area on the outskirts of LaGrange. Callaway added Hillside Mill (HAER No. GA-130) and its associated worker housing and community buildings to the grouping in 1914-15.

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[6]Betsy W. Bahr. "New England Mill Engineering: Rationalization and Reform in Textile Mill Design, 1790-1920," (Ph. D. diss., University of Delaware, 1987), 227-228; The late-nineteenth-century boom in the Southern textile industry has been well documented by historians. For example, see David L. Carlton, *Mill and Town in South Carolina, 1880-1920.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982; James T. Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984; or Melvin Thomas Copeland, *The Cotton Manufacturing Industry of the United States.* New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1966 (1917). For a primary account of this trend, see "The South's Cotton Mills," *Manufacturers' Record* 12 (4 February 1888): 1160.

[7]Walter G. Cooper, "The Condition of Southern Cotton Mills," *Dixie* 17:12 (December 1901): 24.

Beyond the Callaway mills in southwest LaGrange, Joseph Eugene Dunson built Dunson Mill in 1910. Dunson was one of the earlier investors with Callaway in southwest LaGrange, but clashed with Callaway over control of those mills. This clash prompted the creation of a new holding company, Calumet, in 1907. Dunson built his own textile mill in the northeast section of LaGrange near Dixie. Other new mills were constructed in nearby towns during this period as well. The Hogansville Manufacturing Company built a mill in nearby Hogansville, Georgia in 1900. The West Point Manufacturing Co. expanded its operations in Chambers County, Alabama with construction of Shawmut Mill in 1907-08, and Fairfax Mill in 1915-16.

The growth of the textile industry during World War I generated another wave of Southern mill building. In 1925, there were 17,292,000 spindles in the South compared with 15,975,000 in the North, finally ending New England's hundred year reign as the leading textile manufacturing region.[8] In Troup County, New England Southern Cotton Mills built Stark Mill to double its Hogansville operations in 1924 (see HAER No. GA-117). Callaway Mills also added two major divisions to existing mill complexes in Southwest LaGrange. Valway Rug Mill was added to the Hillside Mill complex in 1924 and Oakleaf Mill was added to Unity Spinning in 1928.

Mill Architecture and Engineering

All of the early-twentieth-century mills built in and near LaGrange used a method of slow-burning construction promoted by the Factory Mutual Insurance companies starting in the 1880s. Concerns about the economic impact of mill fires led the Factory Mutual Fire Insurance Companies, under the leadership of Edward Atkinson, to sponsor experiments on the best construction and fire safety techniques. Textile companies that followed the recommendations regarding fire safety and construction received lower premiums. This approach was revolutionary in contrast to the usual *laissez-faire* attitude of fire insurance companies, as described by Edward Atkinson in 1889:

> Until within a very recent period the management of an insurance company issuing policies of indemnity against loss by fire has consisted mainly in taking risks as they might happen to be, a more or less careful inspection having been made into the condition of the property before issuing a policy, for the purpose of estimating the rate of premium to be charged rather than with a view to improving such conditions.[9]

The more proactive stance taken by the Factory Mutual Fire Insurance Companies starting in the 1880s had a major impact on the form and structure of mill architecture.

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[8]Mildred Gwin Andrews. *The Men and the Mills: A History of the Southern Textile Industry*. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1987), 85.

[9]Edward Atkinson. "Slow-Burning Construction," *Century Magazine* (February 1889): 566.

Slow-burning construction, as promoted by the Factory Mutual companies, utilized a heavy timber interior frame, and masonry, typically brick, walls. This construction method was considered to be the most economical, using readily available materials structured in a manner to minimize the danger of fires spreading and completely destroying the mill. Concealed spaces, particularly inside floors or walls, were eliminated, minimizing the opportunities for fire to spread. An insurance engineering report quoted in the 1908 edition of Frank Eugene Kidder's *Architect's and Builder's Pocket-book* described mill construction "so disposing the timber and plank in heavy solid masses as to expose the least number of corners or ignitable projections to fire, to the end also that when fire occurs it may be most readily reached by water from sprinklers or hose." It was also important to separate "every floor from every other floor by incombustible stops...so that a fire shall be retarded in passing from floor to floor."[10] Instead of tall, narrow structures with attic spaces under gable roofs, typified by the early-nineteenth-century New England mill, late-nineteenth-century mills were typically lower and wider in form with nearly flat roofs. The change in mill form was dramatic and slow-burning construction became synonymous with mill architecture.[11]

The standard slow burning construction advocated by the Factory Mutual insurance companies came to dominate modern mill construction by the 1890s, but other key issues also shaped mill design during the late-nineteenth-century. With wider mills, particularly in the South, mill engineers were presented with the challenge of providing adequate lighting for mill interiors without over-reliance on costly artificial lighting systems. Motive systems were evolving as well with the first electric powered mill in Columbia, SC in 1893 and more sophisticated steam power systems. In 1899, mill engineer Stephen Greene succinctly described the impact of the shift from water to steam power on mill design:

> With the advent of the automatic cut-off steam engine with which the name of Corliss is indissolubly connected, the field was opened for a still further modificiation of mill design. It was not longer necessary to select a site by the river bank where the topography was more characteristic for its beauty than for its utility; but a spot could be chosen where a mill could be built much more

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[10]Frank Eugene Kidder, *The Architect's and Builder's Pocketbook*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1893), 456; Kidder, *The Architect's and Builder's Pocketbook*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1908), 687-88.

[11]See Bahr, "New England Mill Engineering;" Lindy Biggs, *The Rational Factory: Architecture, Technology, and Work in America's Age of Mass Production.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996; and Sara Wermiel, "The Development of Fireproof Construction in Great Britain and the United States in the Nineteenth Century," *Construction History* 9 (1993): 3-26. Useful primary sources include Edward Atkinson, "Slow-Burning Construction," *Century Magazine* (February 1889): 566-579; and Charles J. H. Woodbury (Inspector for Factory Mutual Fire Insurance Cos.), *Fire Protection of Mills and Construction of Mill Floors* (New York, 1895 (3rd ed.)).

economically, and where the requisites of light and ventilation could be met in a much more satisfactory manner.[12]

Also integral to the dominance of slow-burning construction for mill architecture was the growth of mill engineering as a profession. The Boston-based engineering firm, Lockwood, Greene & Co. was one of the largest. They opened a Southern office in Greenville, South Carolina in 1899. J. E. Sirrine was in charge of Lockwood Greene's Southern office and later started his own firm based in Greenville. Other major New England mill engineering firms working in the South were Charles Makepeace & Co. and Charles T. Main. The most prominent native Southern mill engineer at the turn-of-the-century was D. A. Tompkins, who opened his mill engineering firm in Charlotte, North Carolina in 1884. Stuart A. Cramer and W. B. Smith Whaley were other well-known Southern mill engineers. A. Francis Walker, who designed the Unity and Elm City mills for the Callaways, was an Atlanta-based mill engineer originally from Framingham, Massachusetts. Park Dallis, another Atlanta-based engineer who designed Unity Spinning and Hillside Mills for the Callaways, began his career working for J. E. Sirrine. Professional mill engineers, although their training varied, provided important technical expertise as integration of production and building became more complex and crucial to efficient mill management.[13]

The Southern Mill Village - Industrial Paternalism

The rise of cotton mills in the South was accompanied by the growth of mill villages throughout the Piedmont. Graniteville, South Carolina was perhaps the most famous antebellum example. Founder William Gregg constructed a series of Gothic Revival cottages near his water-powered mill, creating an industrial village from previously undeveloped land. Gregg's use of poor white rather than slave labor was a solution to the problem of staffing his factory that combined profit and philanthropy. Gregg wrote in 1845 that "it is only necessary to build a manufacturing village of shanties, in a healthy location in any part of the State, to have crowds of these poor people around you, seeking employment at half the compensation given to operatives at the North."[14] New England mills constructed worker housing, but the rural nature of the Southern Piedmont created an unique Southern mill village landscape. The typical nineteenth-century mill village featured small wooden vernacular cottages arranged with individual lots along grid-plan streets. Sanitation facilities and amenities like common pasture land could vary. Even if located near an established town, mill villages were often politically and socially separate. Given the rural labor population that cotton mills were trying to attract, the early mill village served as a transitional zone between a farming lifestyle and the discipline of industrial work.

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[12]Stephen Greene, "The Influence of Motive Power on the Design of Cotton Mill," *Cassier's Magazine* 16 (July 1899): 204.

[13]Bahr, 206-235.

[14]William Gregg, *Essays on Domestic Industry,* (Graniteville, SC: Graniteville Company, 1941 (reprint of 1845 ed.)), 49. For more information on Graniteville, see U. S. Department of the Interior, Historic American Engineering Record (HAER), No. SC-27, "Graniteville Mill," 1999. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Southern mill villages were based on a paternalistic family labor model. Entire families were encouraged to give up substistance farming and relocate to the mill village. Often several members of the family were required to work in the mill, with many children starting work in the mill as young as ten or twelve years old. As many scholars have pointed out, "women and children had always been essential to farmwork, and the mill owners understood this fact and adapted it to their own needs."[15] The mill company provided housing for low rents, and was able to police and control its labor force even when not in the mill. In return for adhering to the rules, the mill workers received jobs, services, and recreational opportunities.

Service and opportunities varied widely among different mill villages. By the early twentieth century, the Southern textile industry became infamous for its "mill hills" of squalid housing and illiterate workers. Movements to improve mill village housing and amenities grew out of national labor reform efforts during the Progressive Era. Many Southern mill companies hired professional planners to lay out new mill villages according to contemporary suburban design principles. The typical pattern of small single-family and duplex dwellings continued, but often streets would follow the natural contours of the topography, sanitation facilities were improved, and popular bungalow and other mail-order house types replaced the Southern vernacular forms of the late nineteenth century. Many progressive Southern mill companies, including Callaway Mills in LaGrange, began to build a wide array of employee facilities such as schools, churches, recreation centers, baseball fields, stores, and greenhouses to enhance worker loyalty in an increasingly tight labor market.[16]

LaGrange Mill: First Modern Cotton Mill in LaGrange

The first mill built within the city limits of LaGrange was the LaGrange Mill. The LaGrange Oil and Manufacturing Company was chartered in 1883 with plans to operate a cotton seed oil mill, cotton gin, and textile mill.[17] The oil mill and gin opened first, and then the textile mill was constructed in 1888-1889. A two-story cotton warehouse, a dwelling, a rock grist and

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[15]John A. Salmond. *Gastonia 1929: The Story of the Loray Mill Strike*. (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press), 3.

[16]For information about the society and labor patterns of the Southern mill village see Douglas Flamming. *Creating the Modern South: Millhands and Managers in Dalton, Georgia, 1884-1984*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992; or Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, James Leloudis, Robert Korstad, Mary Murphy, Lu Ann Jones, and Christopher B. Daly. *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987. A good secondary source on the design of early twentieth century mill villages is Margaret Crawford. *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*. New York: Verso, 1995.

[17][charter for LaGrange Oil and Manufacturing Co.] *LaGrange Reporter* (20 September 1883): 2. The original charter does indicate plans to eventually build a textile mill.

flouring mill, a cotton seed oil mill and several cottages were already located on the 10-acre site.[18] The textile mill was located near the corner of Hines and Morgan Streets just a short distance southeast of the courthouse square in LaGrange. The LaGrange Oil Mill was located closer to Morgan Street on the other side of an Atlantic & West Point Railroad siding.[19]

Many of the original investors were local business and professional men; the local press praised the proposed cotton mill in language typical of New South boosterism:

> ...we are going to begin manufacturing in earnest. That the change will be a blessing all around is as clear as that two and two make four. The material to be worked into cloth whitens our fields; the labor is here, waiting to be employed; we have the capital, not only to pay for this enterprise, but to double and treble its capacity as soon as it may be deemed practical.[20]

When this optimistic passage was being written in December 1888, the mill structure was almost complete. The roof and floors were in place, and many of the window frames. The 125 foot boiler stack was complete and 325 horse power Corliss engine in place. One car load of production machinery had arrived with more expected in the next few weeks.

In April 1889, the *LaGrange Reporter* described the mill as "handsome and ornate. It is 220 feet in length, 80 feet in width, with an L [sic.] for engine, force pump and boiler, extending 150 feet. It cost about $30,000."[21] A. N. Davenport was managing construction prior to being general manager of the mill, however available sources do not reveal whether a professional engineer or architect was involved in the design of LaGrange Mill. Clearly the design reflected the current trends for cotton mill architecture. During this period, the Factory Mutual Insurance Companies were just beginning to establish their standards for fire protection equipment and construction. LaGrange Mill was a slow burning brick and heavy timber structure, which allowed for more favorable insurance rates. Fire protection equipment included automatic sprinklers and fire pails throughout the mill.[22]

The exterior of the mill was brick with raised piers between each bay of arched windows. The most striking feature of the mill was the stair tower in the center of the main elevation. A

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[18] "The LaGrange Mills," *LaGrange Reporter* (25 April 1889): 1.

[19]Sanborn Map Company, *LaGrange, Georgia*, (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1889).

[20] "Music of the Spindle," *LaGrange Reporter* (6 December 1888): 1.

[21]"The LaGrange Mills," LaGrange Reporter (25 April 1889): 1.

[22]Sanborn Map Company, *LaGrange, Georgia*, (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1889).

small flight of exterior stairs led up to the main doorway. Simple decorative brickwork on the exterior of the tower included hoods over the bottom two levels of window openings, and a thick band outlining the edges and top of the tower. On the third level round windows with spoked mullions also had a raised brick outline. Above the band of brick at the top of the tower the brick was corbeled to flare slightly outward. The tower was crowned by a slate-covered mansard roof with a hipped roof dormer on all four sides. Even the smaller and plainer water closet tower on the rear elevation had a smaller version of the mansard roof on the stair tower. These popular Victorian architectural motifs gave a fashionable touch to this industrial building, a technique particularly important given the location of LaGrange Mill close to the courthouse square.[23]

The March 1889 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map included site plans of LaGrange Mills that illustrated its original interior arrangement. LaGrange Mill was to originally contain 5,000 spindles and 75 looms operated by 100 female and 50 male mill hands producing white cotton duck, a heavy, canvas-like cloth. The map showed the stair tower projecting from the east elevation and water closet protruding from the west, as well as the engine shop and boiler house, perpendicular to the main structure on the south side of the west elevation. The boiler house and stack for generating steam power was furthest away from the mill, and fueled the Corliss engine to move a rope drive. The ropeway extending from the engine shop connected the power source to the shafting and belts that moved the machinery. The narrow, two-story space of the ropeway divided the mill into two unequal sections. The smaller southern section contained the picker and cloth rooms. Raw cotton first entered the picker room on the south end of the mill, then traveled across the second floor of the larger northern section of the mill through the drawing, speeding, carding, and spinning parts of the process. The resulting thread then was moved to the first floor for warping, twisting, spooling, and weaving. Locating weaving on the first floor of the mill was a common arrangement because of the weight and vibration of the looms. The cotton duck product was finally stored back on the south end of the mill in the cloth room.[24]

The mill was powered and heated by steam, but also brought important advances in electric lighting to the city of LaGrange. In June 1889, LaGrange Mills contracted with the Thomas A. Edison Electric Light Co. to furnish incandescent lighting for the mill. LaGrange Mills provided the city with "200 electric lights, each sixteen candle power around the same time. The excess electricity from the dynamo at LaGrange Mill provided the first electric power for other parts of downtown LaGrange."[25] The mill was lighted with electricity for the first time in November 1889, and an additional dynamo was added to provide power for several local businesses.[26]

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[23]See photographs from Lockwood Greene Engineers, Spartanburg, SC - copies located in the Troup County Archives.

[24]Ibid.

[25]*LaGrange Reporter* (20 June 1889): 5.

[26]*LaGrange Reporter* (14 November 1889): 5.

Worker housing for the new mill was built on a small rise to the east of the industrial complex. The *LaGrange Reporter* described the operatives' cottages on April 25, 1889:

> The operative's cottages are situated on the opposite side of the railroad track from the factory, and look like a small village, independent of classic LaGrange. There are twenty-seven, each containing six rooms, and will accommodate fifty-four families. They are double cottages - two bed rooms and a kitchen on each side - are divided by a partition, and so constructed that one chimney serves four fireplaces. ...The cottages are nicely furnished and are as comfortable as any fine residence in LaGrange. The operatives who have already moved in are delighted with them. They cost about $550 each, or about $15,000 in all.[27]

The 1889 Sanborn Map showed seventeen nearly identical worker dwellings east of the mill on small lots roughly in a grid pattern. The *LaGrange Reporter* described the mill village area on a bluff overlooking the mill as "very picturesque." The paper went on to say that "it is to regretted that the houses are rather close together, but this objection is largely overcome by the elevation and the healthfulness of their location - the drainage being simply perfect and no possible cause for sickness anywhere around."[28]

The LaGrange Mill dwellings were 1 1/2-story houses four bays wide and two bays deep, although nearly square in plan (see HAER Nos. GA-132; GA-134; GA-136). Two doors and a dividing wall in the center designated these as two family dwellings. Building duplexes instead of single-family dwellings would have reduced construction costs. All the houses had a low pitched gable-on-hip roof and center chimney, a distinctive form common in French-influenced Southern vernacular architecture of the nineteenth century. A one-story kitchen ell, two bays wide and one bay deep with a center chimney, was attached to each structure. A pent-roof porch with decorative post brackets extended across the two center bays of the front elevation of each house, and many had additional rear porches on either end of the one-story ell. As was typical with Southern vernacular housing, the houses were raised on brick piers. Three more houses of the same type were shown on the April 1895 Sanborn map, as well as a Methodist Church for mill workers at the entrance to the mill village neighborhood at Hines and Adelaide Streets. Two additional upright-and-wing houses in this grouping appear to be single-family homes probably used by supervisors.

By May 1900, LaGrange Mill had been expanded to contain a total of 10,000 spindles and 124 looms. An addition identical in plan to the main section of the original building was built on the south end of the mill. A stair tower with a nearly identical mansard roof was placed in the center of east elevation to mirror the original section, as well as a water closet tower on the west

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[27]"The LaGrange Mills," LaGrange Reporter (25 April 1889): 1.

[28]"Factoriana," *LaGrange Reporter* (21 March 1889): 4.

elevation. The addition contained weaving on the first floor and carding on the second.[29] The original engine and boilers were intended to operated at double their initial capacity for easier future expansion.[30] A two-week shutdown in October 1899 was necessarily to install new boilers and rearrange the shafting and machinery. The two new 100-horse power boilers were purchased from R.D. Cole of Newnan, bringing the total number of boilers up to six. A new larger warehouse with a dry sprinkler system was added along Morgan Street near the oil plant, as well as a long rectangular building housing a carpenter shop, machine shop and foundry between the new warehouse and the textile mill.[31]

The work force had been expanded by adding a night shift while the mill addition was under construction, and then the new hands were employed in the new section of the mill.[32] With the doubling of manufacturing capacity came new worker housing construction. Moving away from the distinctive gable-on-hip roofed duplexes of the initial period of housing construction, new houses of several common forms such as L-shaped, and hall and parlor plans were constructed on new streets expanding the mill neighborhood to the east and south (see HAER No. GA-133; GA-135).

In 1901, LaGrange Mill was acquired by the United States Cotton Duck Corporation. U.S. Cotton Duck owned a number of mills in New England and the South and was rapidly acquiring new subsidiaries in 1901. According to the *LaGrange Reporter*, the takeover of LaGrange Mill, nearby Hogansville Manufacturing Company, and several other mills gave U.S. Cotton Duck control of 98% of the cotton duck manufacturing in the United States.[33]

In 1913, International Cotton Mills, a manufacturing division of Lockwood, Greene Engineers of Boston, purchased both the LaGrange and Hogansville Mills from Consolidated Cotton Duck. The mill continued to produce cotton duck as International Cotton Mills made some improvements in the mill village area. A Craftsman-style community building featuring meeting rooms, a pool, and gymnasium was built on Hines Street. Employee welfare programs became common for Southern cotton mills during the Progressive Era as a means to attract workers and counteract the criticism of labor reformers. The new community building at the LaGrange Plant was an important example of these efforts; Lockwood Greene built a similar

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[29]See appendix for information from textile industry directories. Sanborn Map Company, *LaGrange, Georgia*, (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1900).

[30]"The LaGrange Mill," *LaGrange Reporter* (25 April 1889): 1.

[31]"Resumed Operation," *LaGrange Reporter* (27 October 1899): 1; Sanborn Map Company, *LaGrange, Georgia*, (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1900).

[32]"Double Capacity At Once," *LaGrange Reporter* (3 February 1899): 1.

[33] "Trust in LaGrange," *LaGrange Reporter* (17 May 1901): 1.

structure for its International Cotton Mills Hogansville Plant around the same time.[34]

The corporate name International Cotton Mills was changed to New England Southern Mills in the early 1920s, a name change that reflected the Southern focus of Lockwood Greene's manufacturing subsidary. Lockwood Greene continued to operate the mill until 1928. During that year, both the LaGrange and Hogansville Plants were acquired by the Calumet Division of Callaway Mills, adding two more facilities to the extensive Callaway holdings based in Southwest LaGrange.[35] Subsequently, the old LaGrange Mill village has been known locally as Calumet. In 1932, a corporate restructuring brought all of these mills under the Callaway Mills name, now under the leadership of sons Cason Callaway and Fuller Callaway Jr.. Callaway Mills was sold to Deering Milliken, Inc., of North Carolina in 1968; Milliken operated the original LaGrange Mill until 1982.[36] A few years after closing, the mill was torn down and St. Peters Catholic Church was built on the site. The community building has been demolished as well, but many of the houses, including the original 1889 grouping, remain relatively intact. Like many historic Southern textile mills, the LaGrange/Calumet Mill was considered obsolete nearly one hundred years after it was built. The mill was closed and demolished as the struggling Southern textile industry increasingly favored modern structures over renovation of the existing mills.

Unity Mill: First Callaway Mill in Southwest LaGrange

When LaGrange Mill was expanding at the turn-of-the-century, the first Callaway group mill was being built southwest of LaGrange. By the 1920s, the Callaway Mills operated a series of six mills at four different sites in Southwest LaGrange, turning farmland on the edge of the city into an extensive industrial neighborhood annexed by LaGrange. Fuller E. Callaway was a LaGrange native who built a thriving mercantile business through innovative marketing schemes. Callaway's first foray into the textile manufacturing business was as an investor and later manager of Dixie Cotton Mill. His efforts during a bleak early period of Dixie's operation were credited with saving the mill. Callaway left the textile industry for several years, but returned with the construction of Unity Mill in 1900-1901.

Callaway was encouraged to reenter the textile industry by the J. H. Lane Co. of New York, formerly the agents for Dixie Cotton Mill. When Dixie was acquired by Wellington Sears and their agents replaced J. H. Lane, the New York company approached Callaway with an offer to invest in a new textile mill in LaGrange. Callaway pledged $5,000 and agreed to manage the new mill. The charter was granted on May 8, 1900 and on July 4, 1900 the company directors decided to build on a 96-acre tract southwest of town with good railroad access and an adequate

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[34]For a useful collection of photographs of the International Cotton Mills including the mills and villages in LaGrange and Hogansville, see "Souvenir from the International Cotton Mills" (11 October 1919), PM-1012, Troup County Archives, LaGrange, Georgia.

[35]*LaGrange Graphic* (21 September 1928): 1.

[36][plant closes] *LaGrange Daily News* (15 January 1982): 1.

water supply for the steam boiler. [37] In October 1900 the construction contract was given to Pike Brothers Lumber Co. of LaGrange.[38]

In July 1901, the *LaGrange Reporter* informed its readers that machinery installation was starting at the new mill. Unity Mill would produce mainly heavy duck fabric, in an effort to compete with the "duck trust" created by the acquisitions of U.S. Cotton Duck Corporation, including the local LaGrange Mill. Apparently the mill building was complete in July 1901, but the surrounding infrastructure was still being created. A dam and reservoir were "nearly completed" to supply clean water and the railroad was doing "considerable work there in arranging the side tracks, erecting coal chutes, etc."[39] Foundations for the worker's cottages were in place and work on a four-room office building, warehouse and storage buildings was about to begin.

In December 1901, Unity Mill was in operation and made its first product shipment. The local press praised the new mill: "Unity Mills is modern and up to date in every respect. The machinery is all up to the latest and best made, the building was erected on the most approved plans as to stability, sanitary arrangement and light, its location is most excellent, and the most carping critic would have a hard time in finding a reasonable suggestion for its improvement."[40] It was designed by A. Francis Walker, an Atlanta-based architect originally from Framingham, Massachusetts. Walker was approximately 38-years-old when he designed Unity.[41] The new Unity Mill represented progressive mill architecture at the turn of the century.[42] Unity was a two-story structure utilizing a brick and heavy timber slow-burning structural system. Unity Mill also was typical of turn-of-the-century mill architecture with its large windows and low, wide form compared to mills of the 1880s and early 1890s. The very low pitched roof was nearly flat and had a monitor along the center third of the roof to allow light into the second floor.

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[37]Donna Jean Whitley, *Fuller E. Callaway and Textile Mill Development in LaGrange, 1895-1920* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), 86-88, 93.

[38]"Unity Contract Lett [sic.]," *LaGrange Reporter* (5 October 1900): 4.

[39]"Down At Unity: Fine Progress Being Made on the New Mill," *LaGrange Reporter* (26 July 1901): 1.

[40]"Unity Mills: Now Running, First Shipment This Week," *LaGrange Reporter* (20 December 1901): 1.

[41]Information regarding A. Francis Walker courtesy of Ken Thomas at the Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources. From 1909-1919 Walker was part of the architectural firm of Walker and Chase.

[42]"Callaway's Unity Plant is 50 Years Old Today," (9 May 1950): 1 (clipping in "Callaway Mills" vertical file, Troup County Archives).

The most distinctive and decorative feature of Unity Mill's exterior was the Romanesque Revival water tank tower at the center of the main elevation. The tower had a hipped roof supported by decorative brackets. A "bulls eye" design of concentric circles was between each roof bracket and a corbeled blind arcade at the top of the tower added a bit of texture and variety to the common Romanesque Revival factory tower form.[43]

The interior of Unity Cotton Mill housed 10,368 ring spindles, 88 broad looms, and 30 narrow looms operated by approximately 375 employees.[44] Five boilers located in an ell extending from the northeast elevation of the mill provided steam power for the adjacent engine house and rope drive. The boilers were purchased from R. D. Cole Manufacturing Co. of Newnan, Georgia.[45] The rope way connecting the rope drive with the shafting and belting to operate the production machinery was a narrow space near the east end of the mill. The remaining space on the east end of the mill was used as the picker house and picker house machine shop. Raw cotton first entered the mill here from the opener room in the warehouse structure. Cleaning and preparing for carding, the first step in producing thread, could be a fire hazard due to flammable debris in the cotton. Separating the picker house area from the rest of the mill with the ropeway was a common strategy, as also seen at LaGrange Mills. A firewall extending from both sides of the rope way on the roof of the mill was an additional effort to separate the picker house area from the rest of the mill.

Cotton moved from the picker house to the second floor of the mill for carding, roving, spooling and spinning. Then beaming, twisting, reeling, and spinning took place on the first floor, according to the Sanborn Map for January 1906. Perhaps the listing of spinning again on the first floor was an error, given the fact that no area was designated for weaving. Later diagrams show a weave shed area on the west end of the first floor. In February 1911, the interior arrangement of Unity Mill was the same except for the addition of a one-story cloth room on the west end of the structure.[46]

Perhaps the most important element of Unity Cotton Mills' infrastructure was the neighborhood of worker housing constructed on grid plan streets to the west of the mill. The Unity Mill site in Southwest LaGrange was relatively level ground at the base of a series of rolling hills. Ample building lots provided garden space for the workers to raise some of their own food. The *LaGrange Reporter* praised this arrangement: "The cottages near the mill, erected for the

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[43]See photographs of Unity Mill in TRP-41, Callaway Education Association Photos, Box 2, Troup County Archives.

[44]*Davison's Textile Blue Book* (New York: Davison Publishing Co., 1904-05).

[45]"Cole Gets Contract," *LaGrange Reporter* (18 January 1901): 1.

[46]Sanborn Map Company, *LaGrange, Georgia*, (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1906, 1911); Troup County Archives, MS-84 Hutchinson-Traylor Insurance Agency Records, Series II, Box 2, Callaway Mills, Unity Plan [plan], (13 April 1933).

operators, are of a much better class than is usually found, and plenty of land room is given each cottage, so that the occupants can have their gardens, chickens, and the usual home comforts. This fact will insure the best class of help for the mills, for contented and well pleased workers make the most efficient help."[47] The housing for Unity Cotton Mill was wooden, single and two-family dwellings raised on brick piers in a variety of common vernacular roof forms and plans including side-gable double-pen houses, and pyramidal roof, hipped roof, and L-shaped plan houses. In 1905, Unity Cotton Mill owned 81 operative cottages ranging in size from three to six rooms, which housed approximately 1,000 village residents.[48] The smallest dwellings of three-rooms were probably one-half of a duplex structure and were intended for the least skilled workers. Externally, however, the mix of duplexes and single-family houses would have somewhat disguised this hierarchy.

Unity Mill village was within the city limits of LaGrange, but still far from any city services. As was typical of southern mill villages, the mill began to provide institutions and services for the mill workers, creating in this case a self-contained community within a larger jurisdiction. By April 1902, mill management donated land and began to raise money to build a church - previously church services had been held in one of the cottages. Discussion of building a school building also began at this time.[49] By 1905, the mill had turned over its school building for use by the city public school system.[50] The later expansion of Southwest LaGrange with new mills would add more services to the area, creating a self-contained community of mill workers.

Elm City Cotton Mill

The success of Unity Cotton Mill led to plans for another mill in southwest LaGrange in 1905. Fuller Callaway and many of the same investors were involved in the new mill, named Elm City Cotton Mill through a newspaper contest.[51] In January 1906, a 340-acre tract southwest of the Unity Cotton Mill was assembled through purchase from several property owners. This site had the advantage of being bounded on one side by the Atlanta and West Point Railroad, and the Atlanta, Birmingham, and Atlantic Railroad on the other. It also had enough water to operate 150,000 to 200,000 horsepower in steam boilers. The *LaGrange Reporter* complimented Fuller Callaway's "foresightedness" and the vision of all the investors in creating a large tract "with the idea in view of selling off sites for other enterprises. This means a great deal to our city, and

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[47]"Unity Mills," *LaGrange Reporter* (20 December 1901): 1.

[48]"Unity Cotton Mills," *LaGrange Reporter* (15 September 1905): 3.

[49]"New Church for Unity," *LaGrange Reporter* (25 April 1902): 1.

[50]"Unity Cotton Mills," *LaGrange Reporter* (15 September 1905): 3.

[51]"Another Cotton Mill for 'Greater LaGrange,'" *LaGrange Reporter* (15 September 1905): 1; [Elm City name chosen] *LaGrange Reporter* (6 October 1905): 1.

these public spirited citizens should received unstinted praise."[52] The land surrounding Elm City Mill would become central to future expansion of the Callaway Mills in southwest LaGrange.

A drawing of the main elevation of Elm City Cotton Mill was published in the *LaGrange Reporter* on May 11, 1906. A. Francis Walker of Atlanta was the architect, and Roy Dallis of LaGrange the superintendent of construction, same as with Unity Cotton Mill five years previous.[53] Also, Pike Brothers Construction Co. of LaGrange again received the building contract.[54] The new mill building would be 90 feet longer than Unity and had the potential to contain 30,000 spindles. In September 1906, the *LaGrange Reporter* enthusiastically described the progress at the Elm City Mill site:

> A ride out to where the immense new cotton mill of LaGrange is being erected is somewhat inspiring to the average citizen, for where only a few months ago were fields of growing cotton and corn and hay is being transformed into a busy hive of industry, and soon the whir of machinery will be heard in the main building and the gently sloping hillsides will be dotted with neat cottages along well graded streets, furnishing homes, and employment for approximately fifteen hundred people.[55]

The mill walls were up to the second floor, the second floor beams being put in place, and the roof trusses being prepared. Also a large reservoir was being excavated and two earthen dams created. The machinery had been purchased and was about to be shipped.

Work on the Elm City Mill continued throughout the fall and winter. In February 1907, the mill building was complete, newly painted, and awaiting the machinery which was to arrive shortly. Many of the cottages were complete and the remaining ones under construction. The mill was similar in form to Unity Cotton Mill - a two-story, slow-burning construction mill with a low-pitched roof and central tower. A roof monitor along the center third of the mill allowed natural light into the middle of the second floor. The tower functioned as a water tower, but also featured Colonial Revival motifs such as a red tile hipped roof, stone belt courses contrasting with the brick walls, and an open round arch arcade at the top. A brick office building at the front of the mill echoed the decorative motifs of the tower with a red tile hipped roof, and a portico with three round arch openings.

When opened in 1907, Elm City Cotton Mill contained approximately 10,000 ring spindles and 110 broad looms for the production of cotton duck. The interior arrangement reflected common factory design for steam-powered textile mills of the era, as did Unity Cotton Mill. The

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[52]"Elm City Mills Purchases Site," *LaGrange Reporter* (26 January 1906): 1.

[53]"Great Elm City Cotton Mills," *LaGrange Reporter* (11 May 1906): 1.

[54]*LaGrange Reporter* (18 May 1906): 8.

[55]"The Elm City Mills," *LaGrange Reporter* (21 September 1906): 3.

south end of the main mill structure contained the picker room on the second floor and machine shop on the first floor. A narrow ropeway divided this section from the rest of the mill. A firewall extending along the edge of the ropeway on the roof was a fire safety measure similar to the design for Unity. The engine house and boiler house containing the four steam boilers to power the rope drive were located behind this end of the mill to the west, and arranged in an approximate U-shape. Cotton then moved through the main section of the mill north of the ropeway starting on the second floor with drawing and carding, slubbing, spinning, spooling, and twisting. The newly produced thread then moved to the first floor for beaming, warping, weaving, spooling, and storage in the cloth room.[56]

Construction of Elm City Cotton Mill brought approximately 1,500 new residents to southwest LaGrange because of the need for 350 new mill operatives. In May 1906, the *LaGrange Reporter* mentioned plans to build approximately "100 neat and comfortable three to six room cottages, each fenced with room for a garden."[57] By February 1907 a number of the worker cottages were completed. Elm City Cotton Mill operatives lived in many of the same vernacular house types as the Unity workers, blurring the distinction between the two adjacent mill villages. Services for this growing mill population were also a concern. The plans for Elm City incorporated a large park and man-made lake near the mill for the operatives. The Episcopal Church started the Good Shepherd Mission in southwest LaGrange in 1907 to provide education, community activities, and health care for both Unity and Elm City workers, with support and encouragement from the mill management.[58]

Unity Spinning Mill

In 1908, Callaway again made plans to expand, this time with profits from the original Unity Cotton Mill. The new mill was called Unity Mill No. 2, or later Unity Spinning Mill. Although the textile industry was slow at the time, the directors of Unity Mill planned to use between $400,000 and $500,000 to construct an new mill as close by as possible in southwest LaGrange. The *LaGrange Reporter* attributed this move to optimism that the new mill would be ready just in time for the inevitable upsurge in business.[59] With characteristic praise for industrial development, the local press remarked that:

> Knowing that the recent financial depression was only temporary and seeing the opportunity to turn a 'nimble penny,' the management of the above mills took advantage of the dull times and placed their orders for all the machinery and equipment needed by the new mills, and the difference in the prices they obtained

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[56]Sanborn Map Company, *LaGrange, Georgia*, (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1911).

[57]"Great Elm City Cotton Mills," *LaGrange Reporter* (1 May 1906): 1.

[58]"Mission House to Be Erected," *LaGrange Reporter* (25 October 1907): 1.

[59]"Another Mill for LaGrange," *LaGrange Reporter* (18 September 1908): 1.

then and would have to pay now amounts to a splendid profit in itself. All the equipment is of the best, modern and up-to-date.

In March 1909 the building contract for the new mill was given to John T. Grandy & Sons of Greenville, South Carolina. The design was by Park A. Dallis, a LaGrange native now practicing architecture in Atlanta. Dallis had an engineering degree from the University of Georgia and began his career working under J. E. Sirrine in Lockwood Greene's Greenville, South Carolina office. In 1899, Dallis worked as the on-site engineer for the construction of Lanett Cotton Mill in Lanett, Alabama. When Sirrine started his own mill engineering firm in 1902, Dallis continued to work under him. In 1907 Dallis opened his own firm based in Atlanta.[60] Unity Spinning Mill was a major early commission for Dallis. The 132 x 290 foot mill was to cost $350,000 and be completed by August.[61] It was located just south of Elm City Cotton Mill. Unity Spinning Mill was a two-story slow-burning construction mill with a very low pitched roof. Another steam powered mill, it was very similar in form to Unity and Elm City. Unity Spinning Mill, however, was a more utilitarian structure with no decorative tower. A long monitor stretched over nearly the entire main production area of the mill.

Another key difference at Unity Spinning Mill was the production of special yarns, cable cords, hose-cords, and twine instead of just duck fabric.[62] The emphasis on producing cords and yarns over fabrics led to a greater number and variety of spindles and no need for looms at this mill. Like the other mills, Unity Spinning's ropeway separated the smaller picker room area from the larger production area. Cotton entered the mill at the picker room on the second floor of the south end of the mill. A small square monitor illuminated and ventilated this section of the mill. The cotton was further refined through carding on the second floor of the larger northern section of the mill. Then spinning, twisting, and winding took place on the first floor. Unity Spinning Mill had 14,688 ring spindles and 3,486 twist spindles. Twisting and reeling took place on the first floor of the southern end of the mill which was adjacent to a one-story shipping room with a monitor roof. The power for the rope drive was provided by the engine room and boiler house located in a U-shaped arrangement on the southwest end of the mill, an arrangement similar to Elm City.[63]

Approximately 300 new operatives and their families again expanded the population of southwest LaGrange when Unity Spinning Mill opened in 1909. The mills continued to build hipped, pyramidal, and gable roofed house forms on grid streets, in this instance expanding the

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[60]Copy of resume for Park A. Dallis, Sr. in files at Troup County Archives, LaGrange, Georgia.

[61]"The Mill Contracts Let," *LaGrange Reporter* (12 March 1909): 1.

[62]*American Textile Directory* (New York: American Directory Co., Inc., 1910-11).

[63]Sanborn Map Company, *LaGrange, Georgia*, (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1911).

mill village neighborhood west of Unity Spinning. In less than ten years, the farmland of southwest LaGrange was being converted to a new industrial suburb. Both Elm City and Unity Spinning were located outside the city limits, further encouraging the self-contained nature of the mill worker community.

Hillside Cotton Mill

In 1914, Callaway again began planning for another major cotton mill. Hillside Cotton Mill would provide the last major mill development in southwest LaGrange; future expansions were attached to the four existing mills. In October 1914, it was announced that a charter had been approved for a $500,000 mill to called Hillside Cotton Mills. Previous LaGrange mills had been capitalized half that amount, indicating that Hillside would be a much larger structure. It was the sixth in the Callaway mills group, which included the three earlier LaGrange mills, Manchester Cotton Mills in Manchester, Georgia, and Milstead Manufacturing Co. near Conyers, Georgia. The *LaGrange Reporter* noted "that it will pay handsome dividends seems a foregone conclusion in view of the marked success with which the same management have operated the other mills under their charge."[64]

In February 1915, a site just east of the Elm City Cotton Mill was being graded in preparation for construction of Hillside Cotton Mill. The Pike Brothers Construction Co. of LaGrange was building warehouses. Architect and mill engineer Park A. Dallis of Atlanta, same designer as Unity Spinning Mill, was supposed to have the plans ready shortly so the contract for the main mill structure, thirteen sections of warehouse, and 100 operative cottages could be let.[65] Thompson & Bros. of Birmingham and Charlotte got the construction contract for the main mill buildings, 17 sections of warehouse, and 122 cottages a month later. The railroads were already busy building side tracks to the new site, and the mill ponds were being excavated.[66] In November 1915, the main mill structure, warehouses, and power plant were complete and the weave shed under construction.[67]

Hillside Cotton Mill was both a larger and more complex industrial site than the earlier Callaway Mills. In 1916 Hillside housed approximately 25,000 ring spindles, 6,000 twist spindles, and 472 looms operated by 600 employees. Hillside produced a wider variety of products than the other Callaway mills including duck, drills, yarns, and twines of a variety of weights. Hillside also included a dye house for coloring finished fabrics; Lanett Cotton Mill in Chambers County, Alabama was the only other nearby mill with dying facilities.

Like Dallis' design for Unity Spinning, Hillside was a utilitarian mill structure without a

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[64]"Charter for $500,000 Mill," *LaGrange Reporter* (30 October 1914): 1.

[65]"Steps Taken on New Mill," *LaGrange Reporter* (19 February 1915): 1.

[66]"Mill Contract Let Tuesday," *LaGrange Reporter* (19 March 1915): 1.

[67]"Making Better Men and Women," *Cotton* 80:1 (November 1915): 7.

decorative tower or main public elevation. Instead the arrangement of Hillside emphasized the efficient grouping of a complex including a three-story main mill building, two attached one-story weave sheds, yarn storehouses, dye house, engine and boiler houses, and a U-shaped grouping of seventeen conventional warehouses with a three-story cloth warehouse in the center. The three-story main mill building with a roof monitor was placed near the center of this grouping. This section of Hillside was arranged in a manner similar to the other steam-powered, slow-burning construction mills in LaGrange. The south end of the main mill was a two-story picker room separated from the bulk of the mill by the ropeway for the power system. The engine room and boiler house were located on the west side of the mill. The third floor housed carding, speeders, drawing, slubbers, and spinning. The second floor contained a similar set of production processes - carding, drawing, slubbers, and speeders - perhaps for a different type of yarn. The first floor housed winding and spinning.[68]

With the main mill at Hillside were two one-story weave sheds with similar brick construction and monitor roofs. Weave shed no. 1 was located parallel to the main mill to the east. The footprint of this long, low structure was larger than the main mill. Weave shed no. 2 was low and square in form with a partially excavated basement used as production space.[69] Weave shed no. 2 was connected to the north end of the main mill and northwest corner of weave shed no. 1. It is not clear what power source was used to operate the looms in this part of the mill complex since the weave sheds did not appear to be attached to the steam-driven rope drive of the main mill. Possibly electric motor-driven machinery was used in this area of the Hillside complex; textile industry directories list both steam and electricity for power sources at Hillside (see appendix). The use of electric power and one-story weave sheds at Hillside indicated the evolution of factory design in the early twentieth century away from the restrictions of a rope and shafting driven steam system. Electric power offered much greater flexibility in the arrangement of the mill and machinery.

As the name implies, Hillside was built on a slightly higher elevation that the other southwest LaGrange mill neighborhoods. A mix of single and two-family houses were built on rectangular lots around the mill complex, further expanding the industrial suburb transformation of southwest LaGrange. Some houses built for Hillside Cotton Mill illustrated the shift to popular bungalow forms over Southern vernacular types. A number of front gable cottages with Craftsman detailing were built, such as those along Lincoln Street (see drawing and photograph of 606 Lincoln Street, HAER No. GA-112). Also, several Craftsman foursquares were built for supervisors on Forest Avenue.

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[68]Troup County Archives, MS-84 Hutchinson-Traylor Insurance Agency Records, Series II, Box 2, Callaway Mills, Hillside Plant, (14 May 1927).

[69]It is not clear whether both weave sheds were included in the original plan for Hillside, however both structures were in place by 1921 at the latest. See Sanborn Map Company, *LaGrange, Georgia*, (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1921).

Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of the worker housing for Hillside Cotton Mill was the dormitories built to attract new types of mill workers. The Martha Washington Inn and Benjamin Franklin Inn were similar two-story wooden structures with wide porches and hipped roofs. The traditional labor pattern for Southern cotton mills had been the family system. The mill would provide a free-standing single family or duplex house for a family with several members working in the mill. Often smaller families were required to take in single workers as boarders. When Hillside was being built in 1915, the war in Europe caused a great demand for textiles in an already tight labor market. The Martha Washington Inn was for young women workers drawn from the "mountain sections of Georgia, where...there was a plentiful supply of Anglo-Saxon people who have practically done nothing in an industrial way for several hundred years, and whom he [Callaway] felt could now be put to work to their advantage and the advantage of the community."[70] The Benjamin Franklin Inn was intended to house "older men, those crippled or deformed in some way, but still able to perform certain tasks in a cotton mill, and those who through physical defects were not eligible for army or navy service."[71]

Like the International Cotton Mill in LaGrange, Hillside and the other Callaway mills continued to expand their employee welfare programs in the 1910s and 1920s. Beyond just providing housing and schools, the mills of southwest LaGrange built a number of recreational and service facilities including a Y.M.C.A. with a pool, gymnasium, and meeting rooms, parks, playgrounds, greenhouses, stores, a hospital, and a Boy Scout hut and camp.[72] Fuller Callaway was very frank about the economic benefits of the paternalistic Southern cotton mill system. For example, Callaway told the Industrial Conference being held in Washington, DC in 1919, "we have swimming pools. We do not charge anything. We have tickets which entitle the holder to admission. Now, you take a 'doffer' boy, and if he does not behave we take his swimming ticket away from him, and it has more influence with him than the fear of God. We have a great many things like that, and it has all proved to be good for the people."[73] Providing services for mill workers commonly was used as a means to inspire loyalty or discipline misbehavior.

Additions: Valway Rug Mill and Oakleaf Mill

Although the main elements of Southwest LaGrange's textile industry were in place by the

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[70]"Meeting Shortage of Labor Through More Attractive Homes," *Manufacturers Record* 71:22 (31 May 1917): 55.

[71]Ibid.

[72]For photographs of the amenities built for the Callaway mills, see "Callaway Group of Mills," in the "Health & Happiness" number of *Southern Textile Bulletin* (December 1923): 158-159. A classic account of Callaway's management philosophy is Ida M. Tarbell, "Making American Citizens and Running Cotton Mills to Pay the Expenses," *Red Cross Magazine* 16:8 (August 1920): 56-62, 70.

[73]"Callaway Gives Secret of Industrial Peace," *Southern Textile Bulletin* (16 October 1919): 13.

late 1910s, expansion did continue through the 1920s, mainly with two new mills added to preexisting mill complexes. Fuller E. Callaway died in 1925, but his sons Cason Callaway and Fuller E. Callaway Jr. continued to manage the textile business. As president of the mills Cason Callaway worked to develop new product lines for the Callaway mills. Rug production began in one of the Hillside warehouses in 1924 as an experiment.[74] Success led to the addition of power looms, and a new production area attached to the south end of the row of warehouses on the east side of the Hillside complex. The long, thin mill structure had large industrial windows mounted flush with the wall surface, giving it a very modern appearance. Valway Rug Mill was officially incorporated on November 4, 1927.[75] Its 200 employees produced cotton chenille rugs and towels using 123 Jacquard and other specialized looms. Electric power driven machinery eliminated the need for a rope way, engine house, and boiler house, and allowed the Valway Rug Mill to be an open and flexible production space.[76]

Oakleaf Mill also started as part of Hillside Cotton Mill for the production of wiping cloths, fabrics, and special yarns. At Oakleaf there were 4,248 twist spindles and 100 looms operated by 250 workers.[77] Oakleaf Mill was chartered on April 16, 1928, and housed in a major addition attached to the north end of Unity Spinning Mill.[78] Oakleaf Mill was a one-story brick and timber structure with a monitor roof, mirroring the Unity Spinning Mill in architectural form even though it was a lower and longer building. Oakleaf used electric power, eliminating the need for awkward and dangerous overhead shafting and belting. One-story structures were more convenient for the movement of materials through the production process and well suited for the flexible use of modern electric motors.

The Callaway Mills

In 1932, all of the various mills operated by the Callaway group underwent a corporate restructuring to be reorganized officially as the Callaway Mills. The Callaway Mills included the southwest LaGrange mills - Unity Plant, Elm City Plant, Unity Spinning Plant, Hillside Plant, Oakleaf Plant, and Valway Rug Plant in addition to the Calumet Plant near downtown LaGrange (the former LaGrange Mills). Callaway Mills also owned and operated the Calumet Plant in Hogansville, Georgia, the Manchester Plant in Manchester, Georgia, and the Milstead Plant in

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[74]Louise Moon "LaGrange Industries: Valway Mills," *LaGrange Reporter* (2 July 1927): 1.

[75]Clifford Smith *History of Troup County*, (Atlanta, Georgia: Foote & Davies, 1933), 120.

[76]*Davison's Textile Blue Book* (New York: Davison Publishing Co., 1930.

[77]*Davison's Textile Blue Book* (New York: Davison Publishing Co., 1932).

[78]Like Unity Spinning Mill was originally called Unity No. 2, Oakleaf Mill was briefly called Unity No. 3.; Smith 120.

Milstead, Georgia for a total of 135,852 spindles.[79] In 1935 all of the Callaway Mills were converted to electric power systems - by the 1930s advances in electrical technology were making it more economical than steam power.

Callaway Mills continued until 1968 when Fuller E. Callaway Jr. sold the company to Deering Milliken, Inc., of North Carolina.[80] Milliken & Co., now headquartered in Spartanburg, South Carolina, continues to operate all of the former Callaway Mills in southwest LaGrange. The Unity Plant has been renamed Kex, and the original Unity Spinning/Oakleaf complex is now the Unity Plant. Additions and alterations have changed each of the mills, but many aspects of their original designs remain. The mill houses were sold to the workers in 1945 and this extensive neighborhood of worker housing through southwest LaGrange is still remarkably intact. Textile manufacturing continues to be an important part of LaGrange's diversified economy. The distinctive southern mill village landscape created by the local textile mills in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remains as powerful evidence of this period of growth in LaGrange, even as the unique social life of the mill village has disappeared.

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[79]Smith, 121.

[80]"Hope to Advance Callaway Growth Here, Milliken Says," *LaGrange Daily News* (30 March 1968): 1.

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